70-17,025

KOUYMJIAN, Dickran Karnick, 1934-A NUMISMATIC HISTORY OF SOUTHEASTERN CAUCASIA AND ADHARBAYJĀN BASED ON THE ISLAMIC COINAGE OF THE 5TH/11TH TO THE 7TH/13TH CENTURIES.

Columbia University, Ph.D., 1969 History, medieval

University Microfilms, Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan

A NUMISMATIC HISTORY OF SOUTHEASTERN CAUCASIA AND ADHARBAYJAN BASED ON THE ISLAMIC COINAGE OF THE 5TH/11TH TO THE 7TH/13TH CENTURIES

by
Dickran Karnick Kouymjian

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, in the Faculty of Philosophy, Columbia University

ABSTRACT

A NUMISMATIC HISTORY OF SOUTHEASTERN CAUCASIA

AND ADHARBAYJAN BASED ON THE ISLAMIC COINAGE OF THE

5TH/11TH TO THE 7TH/13TH CENTURIES by Dickran Karnick

Kouymjian

The study is a numismatic history of five Islamic dynasties which flourished in southeastern Caucasia and Adharbayjan from the Seljuq invasion to the Mongol conquest of the Middle East, that is roughly from the mid-5th/llth to the mid-7th/l3th centuries. It is based on the corpus of coins of each of the dynasties, which are: the Shirvanshahs; the Maliks of Darband; the Ildegizids, atabegs to the Seljuqs of Iraq; the Bishkinid Maliks of Ahar at Ahar now in Iran; and an unidentified vassal of the Ildegizids.

The characteristic features of this coinage are its almost exclusive copper composition, its careless minting, and its purely epigraphical legends. These qualities separate it from the coinage of the neighboring Islamic areas. In the adjacent regions of eastern Anatolia, though the coinage was also exclusively copper, it was fairly carefully and regularly struck and usually carried some anthropomerphic or zoommaphic motifs; in central and western Iran, though strictly representational, it was usually regular and gold was struck as well as copper. Because of these distinct numismatic features the area and

the dynasties under consideration represent a geographical and historical unit.

Some of these coins were struck "regularly", i.e., approximately round and originally intended to carry a complete die impression, while others were struck "irregularly", i.e., extremely diverse in shape and size and almost never bearing a full die impression. The Ildegizids and the Maliks of Ahar, both located to the south of the Araxes River, struck the former type; the Maliks of Darband and the Shirvanshahs, situated north of the Kur River, struck the latter, irregular type. With the exception of those of the Maliks of Darband, the overwhelming majority of coins lacks the mention of a mint name or date.

Throughout the work the numismatic tradition and political history of the neighboring Christian Kingdom of Georgia and the Seljuq Sultanate of Iraq, situated to the northwest and southeast of the region respectively, are referred to; the economic and political relations of the five dynasties with these neighboring powers is discussed and analyzed.

Chapter One lists and evaluates all references to these dynasties in the medieval Islamic and Christian (Armenian, Georgian, Syriac) sources, which are shown to be inadequate for a comprehensive history of these dynasties with the possible exception of the Ildegizids.

Therefore, the numismatic evidence proves to be indis-

pensible for an accurate, if still incomplete, history of these dynasties. The chapter also contains a review of all previous numismatic and historical literature on the subject.

Chapter Two presents an historical and numismatic background to the problem with emphasis on Seljuq institutions and select numismatic questions of the period, such as the so-called "silver crisis", irregular copper coinage, mints and coin hoards.

of the respective dynasties. Each one is preceded by an introduction and followed by a short conclusion and a genealogical table. Within the corpora proper each important coin or issue is followed by an historical and numismatic commentary in which new information presented by the coinage is discussed and evaluated.

A concluding chapter contains observations on the political history, the social and economic structure, and the monetary circulation of the area based on the numis-matic evidence presented in the study. At the end there is a map, photographs of selected coins from each of the corpora, and a bibliography.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLED GEMENTS	1
ABBREVIATIONS	viii
NOTES	xi
Chapter	
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER ONE: THE SOURCES AND THE LITERATURE	
I. THE ISLAMIC SOURCES: ARABIC AND PERSIAN	16
A. General Marrative Histories B. Local Histories C. Biographies D. Geographies E. Travel Accounts F. The Diwans of the Court Poets G. Collections of Sources	18 28 30 31 31 32
II. THE GEORGIAN SOURCES	36
III. THE SYRIAC SOURCES	38
IV. THE ARMENIAN SOURCES	39
V. EPIGRAPHY	45
VI. NUMISMATIC LITERATURE	46
VII. GENERAL LITERATURE	56
A. The Ildegizids B. The Bishkinid Maliks of Ahar C. The Shirvanshahs D. The Maliks of Darband	56 60 61 66
CHAPTER TWO: THE HISTORICAL AND NUMISMATIC BACKGROUND	
I. THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND	72
A. The Pre-Seljuq Period	72 81
the Great Seljuq Empire D. The Khwarazmian and Mongol Invasions	86 91

	Page
Chapter	
II. THE NUMISMATIC BACKGROUND	101
A. The Pre-Seljuq Period B. The Seljuq Period C. The Khwarazmian and Mongol Period D. The Silver Crisis E. Copper Coinage, Regular and Irregular F. Tamghas, Mints, Hoards and Monetary Circulation	101 106 112 115 118
INTRODUCTION TO THE CORPUS	133
CHAPTER THREE: THE SHIRVANSHAH CORPUS	
I. INTRODUCTION	136
II. THE CORPUS	142
A. Fariburz b. Salar B. Minuchihr b. Fariburz C. Afridun b. Fariburz D. Minuchihr II b. Afridun E. Akhsatan b. Minuchihr II F. Shahanshah b. Minuchihr II G. Afridun II b. Minuchihr II H. Fariburz II b. Afridun II b. Minuchihr II I. Farrukhsad b. Minuchihr II J. Garshasp b. Farrukhsad b. Minuchihr II K. Akhsatan II b. (Fariburz II ?) L. Rashid b. (Farrukhsad ?) M. Jalal al-Din Sultanshah b. Shirvanshah (Rashid ?) M. Fariburz III b. Garshasp b. Farrukhsad b. Minuchihr II O. Akhsatan III b. Fariburz III B. Garshasp P. Farrukhzad II b. Akhsatan III	142 155 157 159 169 184 196 207 208 211 216 228 235
III. CONCLUDING OBSERVATION AND GENEALOGY	238
CHAPTER FOUR: THE MALIKS OF DARBAND CORPUS	
I. INTRODUCTION	243
II. THE CORPUS	248
A. Muzaffar b. Muhammad b. Khallfa	248 269 278
TIL CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS AND GENEALOGY	283

Chapter	Page
CHAPTER FIVE: THE ILDEGIZID CORPUS	
I. INTRODUCTION	288
II. THE CORPUS	29 6
A. Shams al-Din Ildegiz	296 312 324 333 358
III. CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS AND GENEALOGY	365
CHAPTER SIX: THE BISHKIN CORPUS	
I. INTRODUCTION	369
II. THE CORPUS	378
A. Bishkin b. Muhammad. B. Mahmud b. Bishkin	378 389
III. CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS AND GENEALOGY	407
CHAPTER SEVEN: CORPUS OF AN UNIDENTIFIED ILDEGIZID VASSAL	
I. INTRODUCTION	411
II. THE CORPUS	415
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION	419
BIBLIOGRAPHY	439
TABLES OF THE REIGNING DATES OF NEIGHBORING RULERS	458
MAP	460
DIATES	461

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study developed out of a fellowship project conducted at the American Numismatic Society during the summer of 1965. Originally a study of Caucasian coinage in the 6th/12th and 7th/13th century was to serve as a tool for a critical translation of the 7th/13th century Armenian historian Kirakos of Ganja. However, it soon became evident that the coins of this area had as yet neither been catalogued nor studied. Under the guidance of Dr. George C. Miles, Curator of the Society's museum, a systematic classification of these coins was undertaken and eventually achia ed.

Simultaneously with the completion of the identification and arrangement of these coins, Dr. Nina G. Garsolan, Prof. of Armenian Language and Literature, agreed with Dr. Miles that a corpus of all such coinage accompanied by an historical commentary would contribute to our understanding of the political and economic forces at work in Caucasia during the whole confused era of the 5th/llth to the 7th/l3th centuries. Thus this dissertation is a numismatic history of the region based on a corpus of all Islamic coins which have been published as well as those unpublished specimens in the American Numismatic Society and other public and private collections which were accessible.

The numismatic aspects of the study would have been impossible without the constant guidance and encouragement of Dr. Miles, who patiently explained the vagueries of Islamic coinage and often letter by letter helped me read and understand the difficult Arabic legends. Over and again he made sense out of the incomprehensible. The historical sections of the thesis were written under the supervision of Professor Garsoian, whose succinct suggestions on historigraphy and organization have produced any coherence that may exist in the work. A debt must also be acknowledged to Dr. Tibor Halasi-Kun, Professor of Turkic History and Philology, who was first responsible for my interest in the Seljuq period, for his advise on some of the Turkological aspects of the thesis.

I would also like to express my thanks to the following people for the kindnesses they have extended to me over the past four years: Dr. Kh. Mushegian, Keeper of Coins, the Armenian National Museum, Armenia S.S.R.; Z.M. Bunilatov, Director of the Arabic Section of the Institute for the Peoples of the Near and Middle East, Baku, Azerbayjan S.S.R.; Miss Helen Mitchell, Assistant Keeper of Islamic Coins, the Heberden Coin Room, the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; Miss Anne Jacobsen, Assistant Keeper of Coins, the National Museum, Copenhagen; Dr. I.A. Börner, Keeper of Coins, Staatliche

Museum, Berlin; M. Curiel, Keeper of Islamic Coins, the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; Mr. R. Lowick, Keeper of Islamic Coins, the British Museum, London; Artuk Bey, Keeper of Coins, and Yevrig Hanim, Assistant Keeper, the Archeological Museum, Istanbul; Nuri Pere Bey, Curator of Coins, and Ibrahim Bey, Assistant Curator, Yapi ve Kredi Bankasi, Istanbul; l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Cairo, for the use of its library; the late Professor Vladimir Minorsky for several suggestions on Caucasian matter; and Mr. Henry Grunthal, Curator of Medieval Coins, the American Numismatic Society, for his constant advise on general numismatic matters.

ABBREVIATIONS

ANS American Numismatic Society.

BM British Museum; followed by III, S. Lane-Poole, Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum,

Vol. III (London, 1877).

BN Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

BSOAS Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London.

Braules, London.

EI1, EI2 Encyclopaedia of Islam, first and second editions,

Leiden.

Excursus Kratkii kurs istorii Azerbaidzhana, s prilozheniem

ékskursa po istorii Shirvanshakhov XI-XIV v.v. (A Short Course of the History of Adharbayian with an Appendix of an Excursus on the Shirvanshahs of the XI-XIV Centuries) (Baku, 1923).

Georgian Chronicle The Georgian Royal Annals, trans. M.
Brosset, <u>Histoire de la Géorgie</u>, Vol. I, Part I (I/1) (St. Petersburg, 1849).

GMS Gibb Memorial Series.

IA İslâm Ansiklopedisi (Istanbul, 1940-).

I.A.K. Izvestiia Arkheologicheskogo Komiteta (Bulletin of the Archeological Committee), St. Petersburg.

Iz.ANAz. Isvestiia Akademii Nauk Azerbaidzhaniskoi (Bulletin of the Academy of Science of Azerbayjan), Baku.

Iz.Az.A.K. Investii Azerbaidzhana Arkheologicheskogo Komiteta (Bulletin of the Azerbayjan Archeological Committee), Baku.

Izaz FAN

Izvestiia Azerbaidanskogo Filiala Akademii Nauk

(Bulletin of the Azerbayjan Branch of the Academy
of Science), Baku.

Iz.As.GNII Izdatel'stvo Azerbaidzhanskii Gosudarstvennvi
Nauchno-Issledovatel'skii Institut (Publishing
House of the Institute of Scientific Investigation
of the Government of Azerbayian), Baku.

Is_Azkom Isyestii Askomstaris (Bulletim of Askomstaris),

JA Journal Asiatique, Paris.

JAOS Journal of the American Oriental Society, New Haven.

Klady, I-IX E.A. Pakhomov, Monetave klady Azerbaidshana i drygikh respublik i kraev Kaykasa (Coin Boards of Azerbayian and Other Republics and Regions of the Caucasus), 9 fascicule volumes (Baku, 1926-1966.

<u>Kratkii</u> See <u>Excursus</u>.

LOINA Leningradskogo otdeleniia Instituta narodov Azii (The Leningrad Section of the Institute of the People of Asia).

H.S. B. Dorn, Mova Supplementa (St. Petersburg, 1855).

NZ Numismatische Zeitschrift, Vienna.

RAS Royal Asiatic Society.

RHC. Doc. arm. Recueil des historiens des croisades.

Documents arméniens (Paris, 1869-1906).

RN Revue Numismatique, Paris.

RNB Revue de la Numismatique Belge, Brussels.

NUMISMATIC ABBREVIATIONS

access. accession.

AE AE = R , copper

approx. approximately.

AR $\mathbb{R} = \mathbb{R}$, silver.

AV $\mathbf{A}\mathbf{V} = \mathbf{A}\mathbf{V}$, gold.

d diameter.

H Hoard, followed by a number from E. Pakhomov, Klady, I-IX.

illus. illustrated.

k vypusk, from fascicule, cf., Pakhomov, Klady.

n.a. not accessible, usually a book or article.

obv. obverse side of coin.

reverse side of coin.

t thickness.

w weight.

NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

used has been that of the Encyclopaedia of Islam with some modifications. The underlining of double consonnant forms has been dropped, i.e., dh is represented by dh. The gand gare represented by jand q, the gay by a raised one half space above the line, and the hamzah by '.

Compounds with Allah have usually been rendered as one word, e.g., lidinillah. Certain frequently used nouns have been purposely left without markings or allowed to stand in their western form. They are Seljuq for Saljuq, Turkoman for Turkoman, Kipchak for Qipchaq, Tabriz for Tabrīz, Baghdad for Baghdad, Iraq for 'Iraq, Islam for Islam, caliph for khalīfa, atabeg for atābak, sultan for sultan, and vizir for wazīr. However, when such words have been translated directly from a source or a coin, the exact transliteration is used.

For Armenian the standard Hübschmann-Meillet transliteration has been employed with certain modifications adapted to the standard typewriter keyboard. The inverse circumflex has been replaced by an 'over the letter, e.g., \mathcal{I} , \mathcal{I} , \mathcal{I} , and \mathcal{I} are \mathcal{I} , \mathcal{I} , \mathcal{I} , and \mathcal{I} respectively.

The Library of Congress system of transliteration has been followed for Russian with the following changes. The W has been changed from I to i, and the X to ia without the

connecting segment above, i.e., ia. Turkish words have been left in their modern orthography with the accommodations g for g, I for i, and commas for the cedillas in the letters c and s.

A final note on usage, the medieval city of Bākū is spelled with the long vowels while the modern city is in its Russian form. The same distinction is made with Darband and the modern Derbend and Adharbayjān and the Soviet Republic of Azerbayjan.

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to bring to the history of southeastern Caucasia and Adharbayjan from the 5th/llth to the 7th/l3th century all information which can be obtained from the Islamic coinage struck during that period and in that area. It is a numismatic history based on the corpora of all known coins of five dynasties. The initial task and basic research of the study, and, therefore, its core, is the identification and classification of several thousand unpublished and published coins. The resultant corpus is a body of specialized numismatic data; this in turn is explained and interpreted. Therefore, the preparation of the corpus, its explanation, and the historical, economic and social interpretation of the data in this study constitutes its thesis.

In this work southeastern Caucasia and Adharbayjan signifies the geographical area south and east of the

The area bounded on the north by the Caucasus, on the west and on the east by the Black and Caspian Seas, and on the south from west to east, Anatolia (Asia Minor), Syria, Mesopotamia, and Iran, it is marked by a cultural and historical unity and individuality of its two parts Armenia and Georgia which distinguish it from the neighbouring areas. I have adopted this usage and terminology from Cyril Toumanoff who points out the cumbersomeness of the term "Ciscaucasia" and both the awkwardness and the late Russian imperial expansionist point of view of "Transcaucasia." See a full discussion in C. Toumanoff, "Introduction to Christian Caucasian History," Part I, Traditio, XV (1959), p. 2 and n. 1.

Caucasus extending from the city of Darband² in the north to Maragha³ in the south, from Dwin¹ in the west to the Caspian Sea in the east. This region encompasses the Cabbasid provinces of Sharvan⁵ (including Darband), Arran, Muqan, the eastern tip of Armenia (Arminiyah) lying north of the Araxes River, and Adharbayjan. The period covered is roughly from the arrival of the Seljuq in the latter half of the 5th/llth century to the definitive Mongol, i.e.

Known to the Arabs as Bab al-Abwab, the Gate of Gates, because of its natural mountain barrier reinforced by the construction in Sasanian times of walls and fortifications extending into the Caspian Sea. It served as both the frontier and gateway between the northern nomadic steppe zone and the settled Middle Gast. The modern Derband, spelt in its Turkish vocalization, is the capital of the Dagestan Autonomous Region of the U.S.R.R.; see W. Barthold's article "Derband" in EI.

³To the east of Lake Urmiya, it is now in Iran; see W. Barthold's article "Maragha" in EI1.

Known to the Arabs as Dabil, it was the capital of the province of Arminiyah situated north of the Araxes River. The ancient site now in Armenia S.S.R. has been recently excavated. See K. Kafadaryan, Dvin k'aKak' ew nra petumnere (The City of Dvin and Its Excavations), I, (Erevan, 1952), and, Kh. Mushegian, Denezhnoe ebrashchenie Dvina po numizmaticheskim dannym (The Monetary Circulation of Dvin according to Numismatic Data), (Erevan, 1962).

⁵The area which lies north of the River Kur beginning from the confluence of the Iora River to the Caspian Sea.

Arran lies on the south bank of the Kur up to its confluence with the Araxes; Muqan is east of Arran still on the south bank of the Kur extending to the Caspian.

⁷See V. Minorsky's article "Adharbaidian" in EI2. For the whole geographical lay out see G. Le Strange, The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate (London, 1905), map I.

Il-Khānid, 8 occupation of the area in the mid 7th/13th century, about 200 years.

The Islamic dynasties whose numismatic corpora will be presented in this thesis are the Ildegizid atabegs, the so-called Kasranid branch of the Shirvanshahs, the Maliks of Darband, the Bishkinids (also referred to as the Maliks of Ahar), and a still unindentified vassal of the Ildegizids. These will be discussed in detail in the introductory remarks preceding each corpus. However, since most of these dynasties are unfamiliar even to Middle East historians, a few comments will be made to facilitate the reading of the introductory chapters. The Darband Maliks and the Shirvanshahs took their names after the regions they ruled. The Bishkinid Maliks of Ahar as mambuks (military slaves) to the Ildegizids had as fief an area west of Ardabil and north of Mt. Sabalan with the city of Ahar as its capital. The localety of the

The Mongols in Iran were called <u>Il-Khans</u> after the title of Hulagh, a grandson of Chingiz-Khan, sent as governor of Iran by his brother Mengü, the Great Khan, in 654/1256; for a discussion and references on the title see AtK-Malik Juvaini, <u>The History of the World-Conqueror</u>, trans. J.A. Boyle (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958), Vol. II, 632, n.55.

⁹If not the actual capital certainly the city where the dynasty's coins were minted. The city is in present day Iran mid-way between Tabriz and Ardabil.

unknown vassal of the Ildegizids probably should be looked for in Muqua as will be discussed later. The Ildegizids themselves had Arran and especially Adharbayjan as their power base including the cities of Tabrīz, Ardabīl and for periods Maragha, Maxijawan¹⁰ and even Dvin. After 555/1160 when as atabegs to the Seljuqs of Iraq they became the power behind the sultanate, they had virtual control of all of al-Jibāl, including the main cities of Rayy, Hamadan and Ispahan.

The selection of this geographical area and these dynasties was made in the following manner. An examination of the Islamic coinage of all minting authorities in eastern Anatolia, northern Syria, Caucasia, upper Mesopotamia and northwestern Iran during the 6th/12th and first quarter of the 7th/13th centuries showed the overwhelming majority of coins to be copper issues. These in turn fell into two

loarabic: Makhjuwan, on the north bank of the Araxes now in the region of the same name within the borders of Armenia S.S.R., but belonging to Azerbayjan S.S.R.

later) being base gold issues of the Seljuas of Iraq and the Ildegizids; the former fall outside the central area of this study and the latter are exactly three in number. There are also some dozen silver coins of the Shirvanshahs from the 5th/llth and the very early 6th/l2th centuries, which along with the Ildegizid gold, are included in the corpus.

discernabl categories: a representational group portraying human and/or animal forms and a purely epigraphical group. The former were further differentiated by their generally regular size and shape and nice striking, while the latter were usually irregular in size and shape and very poorly struck. These distinctions will be examined in more detail in the body of this study, but for our present purpose they are important because the two categories separated themselves geographically. The coinage of southeastern Caucasia and Adharbayjan without a single exception was non-representational; that of eastern Anatolia, northern Syria, and upper Mesopotamia was for the most part representational. Therefore, the research project started by an examination and classification of all purely epigraphical copper coinage of the 6th/12th and early 7th/13th centuries which happened to coincide with all Islamic coinage of southeastern Caucasia and Adharbayjan.

These coins originated from the five dynasties anumerated above. There were in fact other Islamic dynasties in the area during this period, the Shaddadids of Ganja 12

¹²A dynasty of Turkish origin which had its capital first at Dwin and then Ganja (in central Arran just south of the Kur, the modern Kirevabad, Aserbayjan S.S.R.: see V. Barthold - J. Boyle, "Gandia," KI,) in the 4th/loth and 5th/llth centuries. For a history of the dynasty see V. Minorsky, "New Light on the Shaddadids of Ganja," Part I. Studies in Caucasian History, (London, 1953), pp. 1-77.

and Ani¹³ and the Ahmadīlīs of Maragha, ¹⁴ but their numismatic tradition is either unknown or limited to one or two recorded examples. ¹⁵ Therefore, solely on the basis of numismatic evidence in the 6th/12th and the early 7th/13th centuries this area forms a single unit striking irregular, epigraphical copper coinage. ¹⁶

¹³ Ani was the capital of the Bagratid Kingdom of Armenia situated on the right bank of the Araxes; its ruins are now on the Turkish side of the Turko-Armenian frontier. The Shaddadids began to rule in Ani after its capture by Alp Arslan in 456-7/1064. For this branch of the dynasty see also Minorsky, "The Shaddadids of Ani," part II of ibid., pp. 79-106.

Turkoman?) mambuk of Ahmadil b. Ibrahim (a Kurd by origin) with the name Aq-Sunqur; who because of this relationship was known as "al-Ahmadili." Maragha was the capital of the dynasty which also controlled Tabriz for much of the 6th/12th century. See Minorsky, "Maragha," EI1, "Ahmadilis," EI2.

¹⁵ For the Shaddadids of Ganja we know three rulers who struck coins few of which have survived; see E. de Zambaur, Manuel de Généalogie et de Chronologie (Manuer, 1927), pp. 184-5; for the Ani branch there have been no coins published thus far. What may be the first known numismatic specimen from this dynasty, a copper of Minuchihr b. Abul-Aswar, is discussed in the corpus of the Shirvanshahs, infra, p.

¹⁶The Christian Kings of Georgia in neighbouring central and western Caucasia minted bilingual (Georgian and Arabic) coppers and the Seljuqs of Iraq also struck some geographical area of this work, they will be discussed for comparative purposes in the chapter on the numismatic background.

However, this numismatic unity, based perhaps on an arbitrary system of consolidation, is not paralleled by a similar uniformity in other features of these dynasties. Ethnically they seem to have quite different origins. Shams al-Din Ildegiz, the founder of the Ildegizid dynasty, was a Kipchak Turkic 17 mamble. 18 The Bishkinids are reputed

¹⁷⁰n the Kipchaks (Qipchaqs) see V. Minorsky, <u>Rudud</u> al-Calan (London, 1937), pp. 315-317. Terms such as Kipchak and Oghuz/Ghuzz (see infra, n.20). Turkic were originally ethnic or tribal denominations which have since become linguistic labels. On phonetic grounds the Turkic languages can be divided into an eastern and western group. The western was historically important, but today is only represented by the small Chuvash group of Orthodox Christian Turks in central Russia. The more important eastern group is composed of the Turki, Oghus, Kipchak, Sayan and Yakut Turkic languages. The last is confined to a small group in northeastern Siberia and stands linguistically apart from the other four. The Sayan group is also small and usually associated with Buddhist elements. In terms of their historical role the three most important groups are the Turki Turks, to which belong the historical Uighurs and Uzbeks; the Kipchak Turks including the Kirghiz, Khazar (though among Turkologists there is still not complete agreement), Pechenegs, Kumans, the Golden Medid, Kipchaks proper, and Mamluk Dynasty of Egypt; and finally the Oghuz/Ghuzz, which number in their ranks the Seljuqs, the Safavids, the Ottomans as well as the various Turkoman (see n.20) tribes. The Oghuz and Kipchak Turks are the only groups which had a significant effect on the Middle East in our period. For a concise statement on the Turkic languages and their literature see T. Halasi-Kun's introduction to J. Németh, Turkish Grammar, trans. T. Halasi-Kun ('S-Graverhage, 1962), pp. 13-18. For the division of Turkic languages today with bibliography see J. Benzing, Einführung in das Studium der Altaischen Philologie und der Turkologie (Miesbaden, 1953).

¹⁸ For Shams al-Din's Kipchak origin see S. Lane-Poole, The Mohammadan Dynasties, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1925), p. 171; M. Bala, "Il-Deniz," IA.

to have been of Georgian origin, 19 while the other unidentified vassal of the Ildegizide may be of Oghuz/Turkoman Turkic 20 origin. The Maliks of Darband were Arabs, though later they

¹⁹ qazwīnī, <u>Muzhat al-Oulub</u>, ed. G. Le Strange, Gibb Memorial Series, XXIII (London/Leiden, 1919), p. 82; see the introduction to their corpus for a full discussion.

²⁰ The Turkoman (also Turkmen) were of Oghuz (referred to as the Ghuzz/Ghuz in the Arabic and Persian texts respectively) origin; see n. 17 supra. The distinction between the two usages is by no means clear in the early sources. According to Claude Cahen the term Turkoman designated those Oghuz who were descendents of groups which followed the Seljuqs from Transoxiana (the area north of the Oxus/Syr Darya) into Iran even if they later abandoned the Seljuqs to go off on their own into Asia Minor. Oghuz referred to all others, especially those who stayed on in Central Asia. Later in the 6th/12th century and afterwards the term Turkoman become generalized to apply to all Oghuz tribal units, usually nomadic, in the Middle East; see C. Cahen, "Ghuss," RI2. The same author's latest word on the Turkomanquestion is that it is a term "...obscure alike in origin and meaning, which designates the nomadic Muslim Turks, contrasting them on the one hand with the sedentarized Turks and on the other with those nomads who had remained unbelievers," idem, Pre-Ottoman Turkey, trans. J. Jones-Williams (London, 1968), p. 8. There is a generally accepted theory that the home-base of the Turkomans after their migration into the Middle East was in Adharbayjan, precisely the area under consideration in this work; see most recently Cahen, ibid., p. 33, and more generally the section "The Seljukid Empire and the Turks" in ibid., pp. 32-50. On the general subject of the Oghuz and the Oghuz Turkomans see also I. Kafesoglu, "A propos du nom Türkmen, "Oriens, XI (1958), pp. 146-150, in which the author suggests that Turkoman is a political rather than ethnic term; and also F. Stmer, Oduzlar (Ttrkmenler) (Ankara, 1967), an exhaustive historical study.

adopted a Turkic veneer by the choice of their names. 21 The Shirvanshahs were also originally Arabs, but later became Iranized. 22

Further, there is a dissimilarity in the dimensions of the political sovereignty of each dynasty. The Maliks of Darband controlled a single city; the Bishkinids, several towns clustered around Ahar. The Shirvanshahs controlled a whole province, while the Ildegizids the provinces of Arran and Adharbayjan with suzerainty after 555/1160 over most of al-Jibal. We cannot say what territory was under the control of the unidentified dynasty. The longevity of each dynasty also varied. As will be shown later only the Shirvanshahs existed both prior to the Seljuq invasion and after the Mongol occupation. The other four originated in Seljuq times and pass out of existence just before or during the devastation of the area by the Khwarazashahs, 23 Jalal

²¹ See V. Minorsky, A History of Sharvan and Darband (Cambridge, 1958), p. 140, and a thorough discussion in the introduction to their corpus.

Probably in the reign of the Shirvanshan. Yazid b. Ahmad (381/991 to 418/1029), see V. Minorsky, 1bid., p. 63.

²³ Khwarazm is the fertile delta area formed by the Gxus River (Amu Darya) where it empties into the southern part of the Aral Sea. Khiva is its most famous city and the Khwarmazmshahs reigned from the 5th/llth century until they were destroyed by the Mongols. For a comprehensive study see I. Kafeseglu, Harezmsahlar Devleti Tarihi (485-617/1092-1229) (Ankara, 1956).

al-Din, in the first quarter of the 7th/13th century. Again, in their relations with non-Muslim powers our dynasties display divergent attitudes. The Ildegizids had hostile relations with their Christian neighbours despite the praise they receive for their benevolence from some Armenian historians. We have no concrete evidence of contacts between the Bishkinids or the unidentified vassal with Christians. Both the Maliks of Darband and the Shirvanshahs had marital and other connections (to be discussed later) with the Georgians. 25

put an end to the troubles in Arran and stopped the looting in Caucasian Albania; see the translation of the text in C.J.F. Dewsett, "The Albanian Chronicle of Mxit'ar Gos," BSOAS (1958), p. 488. Vardan calls Ildegiz (Eltkuz), along with two other Muslim rulers, "lover of Christians and (one who) causes a country to flourish (K'ristoneaser ew aixarhaien," Vardan Vartapet, Havak'umn Pataut'ean (Universal History), ed. (Venice, 1862), p. 124. For friendly relations between the Armenians of Siunik' (Arran) and the Ildegizids see Step'anos Orbēlean, Pataut'iwn nahangin Sisakan (History of the Province of Siunik') trans. M. Brosset, Histoire de la Siounie(St.Petersburg, 1864), pp. 195, 222-223. See also the remarks by H. Manandian, The Trade and Cities of Armenia, trans. M. Garsoian (Lisbon, 1965), p. 182, and K'nnakan tesut'yun hay solovedi pataut'yan (Critical Survey of the History of the Armenian People), Vol. III (Erevan, 1952), p. 106; and further remarks by Dowsett, 1bid., n.6, pp. 487-8.

²⁵For details see the respective corpora; according to ibn al-Athir, al-Kamil, ed. Tornberg, XII, p. 160, even the Ildegizid Abu Bakr married the daughter of a Georgian King, but the Georgian sources are apparently silent on the matter, see the reference in V. Minorsky, "The Georgian maliks of Ahar," BSOAS, XIII/4 (1951), p. 873.

Yet in spite of these differences our dynasties can be treated as a unit. By the mere act of minting coins they all expressed some degree of political autonomy, for in Islam the two traditional ways of demonstrating sovereignty were the mentioning of the ruler's name in the khutbah²⁶ and the striking of coins.²⁷ Thus, these dynasties form a unit because of their geographic proximity, their common Islamic religious affinity, and their independent sovereign authority.

unity brought to it by the Seljuq conquest was to come to an end after the death of Sultan Malikshah and his Persian vizir Nizam al-Mulk in 485/1092. By the beginning of the 6th/12th century the empire was already breaking up into numerous self-governing areas. This disintegration and its consequences will be discussed in a later chapter. The broad pattern of events was that on the one hand rulers from the indigenous populations of more remote areas of the empire were able to realize various degrees of autonomy and on the other Seljuq princes and Seljuq affiliated

²⁶ special homily and prayer usually delivered at a cathedral mosque by an official preacher (kbattb) before the midday prayer on Fridays, see A.J. Wensinck, "Khutbah", EI1.

²⁷G.C. Miles, The Numismatic History of Rayy (New York, 1938), p. 8.

military chieftains were able to carve out independent domains throughout the empire. 28 By the end of the century this trend had reached its maximum proportion, but was then reversed in the 7th/13th century by the succession of the Khwarazmshah and then the Mongol invasions.

The major part of the study will deal with this complicated 6th/12th century, 29 when the remarkable proliferation of dynasties produced a confused and complex historical tradition. After canumerating and identifying the various sovereign forces operative in that century, there will be an endeavour to simplify some of the historical problems through an examination of the numismatic evidence to establish as clearly as possible the de jurg and de facto sovereign authorities and determine the relationship of one

²⁸ third event which took place just after the death of Malikshah, but which was not directly related to it was the phenomenon of the Crusades, the first of which began in 489-490/1096. Though their effect was considerable along the Mediterranean coast and mothern Syria, the Crusades had no effect on our dynasties. For an exhaustive treatment of the Crusades in the Muslim east see C. Cahen, La Syrie du nord à l'époque des Croisades (Paris, 1940); see also the articles by C. Cahen and H.A.R. Gibb in A History of the Crusades, ed. K. Setton, Vols. I and II (Philadelphia, 1955 and 1962).

²⁹By the 6th/12th century is meant the period up to the arrival of the Khwarazmshah Jalal al-Din in the first quarter of the 7th/13th century.

to another. In the first three centuries of Islam, the orthodox caliph, first in Medina, then Damascus under the Umayyads, and finally, at Baghdad under the CAbbasids, was the supreme political and religious authority in all the lands of Islam. The weakening of the CAbbasid Caliphate in the 3rd/9th century still left the caliph de jura sovereign, but de facto authority was in other hands, at first the all-powerful Turkic bodyguard, 30 and later the shifte Iranian Büyid dynasty. 31 The Seljuqs, as self

Asia as purchased slaves or captives of war to take the place of the Persiansand remnants of the Arabs in the standing army of the caliph. By the beginning of the caliphate of al-Mu^Ctasim (218/833-228/842), they had become the most powerful element in the army and were soon to direct the political affairs of the CAbbasid caliphate. This pattern of a Turkic mambuk army which eventually obtained military and then political control of their original master's state was to be repeated many times in the subsequent history of Islam. On this general question see R.N. Frye and A. Sayili. "Turks in the Middle East before the Saljuqs," JOAS, LXIII (1943), 194-207, and, S. Hamdi, Die Entstehung und Entwicklung des türkischen Einflusses im Abbasidenreiche..., unpublished thesis (Tubingen, 1954) (reference from B. Spuler, The Muslim World, Part I, trans. F.R.C. Bagley (Leiden, 1960), p.62, n.l.

³¹ The family which took control of the Dailamite dynasties of Iranian origin from the southern Caspian province of Dailam around the year 308/920. The name originates from Buya, the father of three sons who began successively taking control of the important cities of al-Jibal and Iraq, culminating in the occupation of Baghdad in 334/946. In time they too were to fall under the control of their Turkic army, but in name at least were able to keep control of the caliphate until the arrival of the Seljuqs in 447/1055. This period when the independent Iranian Samanid dynasty (to be discussed later) was in control of Khorasan and Transoxiana and the

appointed saviours of the orthodox <u>sunni</u> caliphate, maintained the fiction of this <u>de jure</u> sovereignty, while subtly changing the function of the office to a predominantly religious one, gathering for themselves <u>de facto</u> and to some extent a newly justified <u>de jure</u> political authority under the enhanced title of <u>sultān</u>.

During the Seljuq decline two sultanates were formed, one in Khorasan, one in al-Jibal. The former had precedence over the latter, therefore creating an echelon of authority starting with the caliph as token leader of all Islam, then the sultan of Khorasan with the title the Supreme Sultan (sultan al-aczam), and finally the sultan of Iraq (al-Jibal), the Example Sultan (sultan al-mucazzam). As the 6th/12th century grew older a fourth level was added when atabegs and other Seljuq military leaders gained authority over or independence from their masters. Finally, as in the case of the Bishkinid Maliks of Ahar, manlüks ef the atabegs

Buyids in control of Iraq and Iran has been labeled as the Iranian Intermezzo by V. Minorsky. See V. Minorsky, "Ia domination des Dailamites," <u>Publications de la Société des Etudes Iraniennes</u>, No. 3 (1932), 26 pp., reprinted in idem, <u>Iranica</u>, (Iondon/Teheran, 1964), pp. 12-30; and now the excellent article by C. Cahen, "Buwayhid" or Buyid, "EI2.

achieved a fifth level in the chain of sovereign authority. 32

In addition to a consideration of the question of authority, the economic and social relationships among the five dynasties and between them as a unit and their neighbours will be studied. However, it must be emphasized that it is not the intent of this study to present a systematic historical account of these dynasties, for our present knowledge of them is still too incomplete for such an undertaking. In the following chapters the sources will be discussed and the historical and numismatic background presented.

³² However, by the time the Bir ids achieve autonomy in the late 6th/12th century. Seljuq sultanates have disappeared, replaced by the Khwar. hahs who assumed the title of sultan, but played no role 1 the affairs of southeastern Caucasia until the arrival of Jalal al-Din in the first quarter of the next century.

CHAPTER ONE

THE SOURCES AND LITERATURE

In this chapter the primary written sources including epigraphy and the secondary literature, historical and numismatic, will be discussed and evaluated. The sources are arranged according to language: Islamic (Persian and Arabic), Georgian, Armenian and Syriac. The first of these is by far the largest group and will be sub-divided according to type, e.g. historical, biographical, poetical.

I. THE ISLAMIC SOURCES: ARABIC AND PERSIAN

The principal sources for the Islamic dynasties of southeastern Caucasian and Adhardbayjan are the Muslim writers of the 5th/llth to the 8th/l4th century. However, it must be stated at the outset that for our purpose they are fragmentary and full of lacunae. They are exclusively written in Arabic or Persian, there being no relevant sources in Turkish for the period. Arabic and Persian sources will be

Even though a Turkic language was unquestionably, the everyday speech of the Seljuqs and the Ildegizid atabegs, Arabic and especially Persian were the official languages of the court and literature of these dynasties. There was an Islamic Turkic literature as early as the 5th/llth century among the Qarakhanids whose state included both sides of the Altai Mts. in Central Asia, but none of the three major works the Diwan lughat at-turk by Mahmud of Kashgar, the Qutadghu Bilik of Yusuf of Balasaghun, and the mystical poems of the

treated together since no valid distinction in grouping can be made between them. For instance even though the court poets of the Shirvanshahs wrote principally in Persian in the 6th/12th century, the only narrative history treating this dynasty is the 5th/11th century arabic Ta'rIkh al-Bab. Since most of the sources are narrative histories written for the caliph in Baghdad or the Seljuq sultan, minor dynasts are only mentioned if they should effect or be effected by events around the sultan or the caliph.

The Islamic sources fall into several categories.

Marrative histories of a general nature represent the bulk of these; local histories, biographies, <u>diwans</u> (collections) of court poets, travel accounts, and geographical works make up the rest. Correspondence and documents, especially the

⁶th/12th century Ahmad Yasavī) concern us. Turkic literature begins anew in the 8th/14th century, but again it is beyond the scope of this study. The best general work on Turkic literature is A. Bombaci, Storia della Letteratura Turca, trans. I. Melikoff, Histoire de la littérature turque (Paris, 1968); for the Qarakhanids see Chapter VII, pp. 65-89. See also T. Halasiakun, op.cit., p. 17, and, C. Cahen, Pre-Ottoman Turkey, pp. 11-13.

²see <u>infra</u>, nn. 40-45.

inshat collections, 3 though they contain some indirect references to the Iraqi Seljuqs, they contain nothing directly concerning our dynasties.

In the following discussion emphasis will be on material directly pertaining to the dynasties in this work. Two of these, the Bishkinids and the unidentified vassal of the Ildegizids, lack any direct source. Therefore, the latter will not enter into the subsequent discussion, and the fragmentary references to the former will be mentioned in passing.

A. General Narrative Histories

The only narrative source for the history of the Shirvanshahs is the 5th/llth century Ta'rīkh al-Bāb, which has not come down to us, but which has been preserved in the Jāmi al-duwal, an Apabic work by Ahmad ibn Lutfullah

Rashid al-Din Vatvat, The Letters of Rashid-ad-Din Vatvat (Nameh-ha-vi Rashid al-Din Vatvat), ed. G. Toocyerkani (Tehran, 1960), idem, MaintCat Rask'il, ed. M.A. Fahmi, 2 Vols. (Cairo, 1939). References from K.A. Luther, The Political Transformation of the Seljuq Sultanate of Iraq and Western Iran: 1152-1187, Thesis (Princeton University, 1964), p. 287 and discussion on pp. 282-283.

Also referred to as Tairikh Bab al-abwab (Minorsky, Sharvan, p. 2) and Tairikh al-Bab wa Sharvan (ibid., Arabic text, p. 1).

Munejjim-bashī, d. 1113/1702. Until recently the work was only known in a Turkish abridgement of 1142/1730 by Ahmad Nedīm entitled Sahā if al-akhbār. Munejjim-bashī states that the Ta'rīkh al-Bāb was compiled in Darband circa 500/1106, but the events in it only reach the year 468/1075.6 The Arabic text of the section of the Jāmi al-duwal comprising the Ta'rīkh al-Bāb has been published with translation and copicus notes in two separate studies. The Ta'rīkh's account of the Shirvanshāhs begins with the founder of the dynasty, the amīr Yazīd b. Mazyad; in the 2nd/8th century and continues to the time of Farīburz b. Sallār, the third quarter of the 5th/11th century. This

Even the Arabic original said to be the author's (Munejjim-Bashi's own draft), seems to abridge the original Ta'rikh al-Bab; see V. Minorsky, Studies in Caucasian History (London, 1953), p. 4. The MSS are listed in Minorsky, Sharvan, p. 1. The Turkish abridgement was published in Istanbul, 1285/1868.

⁶Minorsky, Sharvan, p. 41, text p. 16.

⁷v. Minorsky, Studies, op.cit., Ceals with the section on Arran, i.e., the Shadaddids of Ganja and Ani, and, Sharvan, op.cit., with Darband and Sharvan.

⁸His son Afrīdun is actually mentioned as succeeding his father, but the date is not given, Minorsky, <u>Sharvān</u>, p. 41, text p. 16.

rich history is full of details on monetary matters while describing the Seljuq conquest of Caucasia. Unfortunately, the <u>Ta'rīkh al-Bāb</u> stops just short of the important and fully independent period of Shirvānshāh rule. Mūnejjimbashī tries to fill in the dynasty's genealogy during the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries, but he has no reliable guide like the <u>Ta'rīkh al-Bāb</u> and, therefore, produces a confused and inaccurate list of rulers.

Likewise, the sections in the <u>Ta'rīkh</u> on Darband (al-Bāb) end a half century before the rule of the Maliks of Darband. There is not even a "confused" genealogy to fill the gap, for Münejjim-bashī was seemingly unaware of these rulers. In fact there is not a single source directly concerned with the events in Darband for the wholeof the 6th/12th or 7th/13th centuries; the same is true for Shirvan.

Other important Muslim narrative sources of the 6th/12th to the 8th/14th centuries are those which discuss the events of the Seljuqs of Iraq. 10 After the mid 6th/12th

⁹ Ibid., Annex I, "Münejjim-bashi on the later Sharvanshihs," pp. 129-138, text pp. 27-32.

loalso sometimes referred to as the Seljuqs of Iran. In reality they are the Seljuqs who controlled the province of al-Jibal which included territory of both Iran and Iraq.

century this part of the Seljuq family falls under the control of their Ildegizid atabegs. Therefore, the history of the latter is sprinkled throughout the history of the former. Unfortunately, there is no work devoted specifically to the Ildegizid atabegs like Ibm al-AthIr's history of the Zangid atabegs of Mosul (Mawsil). The work closest to a history of the dynasty is the Arabic Akhbar al-dawlat al-saljuqiyya attributed by Muhammad Iqbal to CAlI'ibm Nasir al-HusaynI. The work was probably composed by some one who was very close to the Ildegizids. It is a general history of the Seljuqs, but only the last third discusses the Seljuqs of Iraq and the Ildegizids. The narrative ends at 590/1193

ll Ta'rīkh al-dawlat al-atābakiyyah: mulūk al-Mawsil, text and trans. (Histoire des Atabeks de Mossoul), RHC, Historiens Orientaux, II (Paris, 1876).

¹² Ed. M. Iqbal (Lahore, 1933); Turkish trans.

Necati Ingal, Ahbar tid-devlet is-selcukivve (Ankara, 1943).

For a discussion of the authorship see the introduction pp. vii-wiii in Turkish trans.; also M. Sanaullah, The Decline of the Saljuqid Empire (Calcutta, 1938), pp. xxi-xxii; C. Cahen, "The Historiography of the Seljuqid Period," Historians of the Middle East, ed. B. Lewis and P. Holt (Oxford, 1962), p. 70; Luther, p. 278, especially n.4.

¹³ The first part of the work from the death of Malikshah in 485/1092 to 547/1152 is borrowed, with acknowledgement, from 'Imad al-Din al-Isfahani's Musrat al-fatra, which will be discussed shortly; see Cahen, Ibid., p. 70, and idem, Syrie du nord, op.cit., p. 50.

though the text continues to the first quarter of the 7th/13th century. Most of the information in this section is first hand and original, with many details about the campaigns of the Ildegizids against the Georgians and about events in Adharbayjan and Arran. However, there is not more than the mere mention of Shirvan and nothing at all about Darband. Unfortunately, the Akhbar suffers from confused chronology and the survival of a unique manuscript (B.N., 2145).

The Persian Rahat at-sudur by Muhammad al-RawandI¹⁴ is rich with material on the Ildegizids, though there is almost nothing on either the Maliks of Darband and the Shirvanashahs. Al-RawandI, a native of al-Jibal, was a close friend of the last sultam of Iraq, Tughril b.Arslanshah (d. 591/1194), and was in a position to witness the events of the latter part of the 6th/12th century. The second part of the Rahat, especially the events of 555/1160-595/1199, is the originalwork of RawandI; for the prior period, including the history of the Great Seljuqs, he

The Rahat-us-Sudur wa Lyat-us-Surur: Being a History of the Saliuga, ed. M. Iqbal, GMS, n.s., Vol. II (Leyden, 1921); Turkish trans., Ahmed, Ates, 2 Vols. (Ankara, 1957, 1960).

¹⁵ For the details of his life see Iqbal's introduction, Turkish ed., pp. XIII-XVIII.

reproduces the <u>Saliuquamen</u> of Zahir al-Din Mishāpūri. 16
The latter was himself the tutor of Sultan Arslanshāh
(555/1160-571/1176) and provides an outline of his reign. 17
Rāwandi is overladden with verse and excessive moralizing which greatly reduces the work's utility as an historical source. 18

The Arabic <u>Musrat al-fatra</u> by CImad ad-DIn (519/1125-597/1201), already discussed as a source for the <u>Akhbar (supra, n.13)</u>, comes down to us in an abridged form, the <u>Zubdat al-nusrah</u> by al-Bundari. 19 CImad al-Din was in the service of the Seljuqs of Iraq for about ten years until 560/1165, after which he left Iraq and entered the service of the Ayyūbids. 20 Despite his long winded style, there is

¹⁶ The original text, long thought lost, has now been published by Gelaleh Khawar (Tehran, 1332/1953).

¹⁷ See the long discussion in Cahen, "Historiography," op.cit., pp. 73-76.

¹⁸ For a general discussion of its value see Th. Houtsma, "Some Remarks on the History of the Seljuk;", Acta Orientalia Hungarica, III (1924), p. 138; Cahen, ibid.; Sanaullah, pp. xxv-xxvii; Luther, pp. 277-278.

¹⁹Ed. Th. Houtsma, Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides, Vol. II (Leyden, 1889); Turkish trans. by Kivameddin Burslan, Irak ve Horasan Selcuklulari Tarihi (Istanbul, 1943).

²⁰ See Houtsma's introduction; Cahen, "Historiography," pp. 68-69; Inther, 279-280. The original of "Imad al-Din's Fusrat has come down to us (MS, B.N., Arab 2145); for an interesting comparison of it to al-Bundari's version, see Cahen, p. 68, n.44, and idem, Syrie du Mord, pp. 50-53.

much material on Shams al-Din Ildegiz. Once again there is only a passing reference to the Shirvanshahs and nothing on the Maliks of Darband.

The universal history, al-Kamil fl al-ta'rikh, of Thm al-Athir²¹ is of course useful for the period. Although the focus of attention in the 6th/12th century is on the events around the Ayyubid and Zangid atabegs in western Iraq and Syria, much interesting material is to be found on dynasties in this study. al-Kamil was finished in 619/1222: it covers events up to the arrival of Jalal al-Din Khwarazmshah. Of particular interest are the descriptions of several campaigns of the Ildegizids and the Seliuqs of Iraq against the Georgian Kingdom and a very interesting passage on "Darband of Sharvan" in the first quarter of the 7th/13th century. Most of the material related to events in Adharbayian and more northerly provinces are scattered and isolated. Taken as a whole, Ibn al-Athir, though often very biased and seldom citing his sources, is a critical historian who tries to understand

Ed. C.J. Tormberg, Ibn-el-Athiri Chronicon, 14
Vols. (Leyden/Upsala, 1851-76). For translation of passages of interest to Caucasia and Adharbayjan see C. Defrémery, "Fragments de géographes et d'historiens arabes et Persans inédits", JA, Series IV, Vol. XIV (1849); extracts in RCH, Historiens Orientaux, I (1872), II (1876); most recently P.K. Zhuze, Materialy po istorii Aserbaidzhana iz Tarikh-al-kamil' Ibn-al-Asira (Baku, 1940).

the motivation behind events in history. 22

The Ta'rikh-i guzida compiled in 730/1330 by the Persian Hamdullah Mustawfi al-Qazwini²³ has a long section of the Seljuqs of Iraq. Qazwini's source was probably either the Rahat al-sudur by Rawandi which terminates at 595/1199, or, Mishapuri's Saliuquamah also used by Rawandi. The narrative on the Ildegizids terminates around 590/1194 with the death of Sultan Tughril b.

Arslanshah and the mention without details of the deaths of the Ildegizids Abū Bakr and his brother *Uzbek in 607/1210-11 and 622/1225 respectively. The Ta'rikh-i guzida also contains one of the rare references to the Bishkinid Maliks of Ahar in which the Georgian origin of the dynasty

Francesco Gabrieli remarks, "He remains... perhaps the only real historian of Islam in the earlier Middle Ages," see "The Arabic Historiography of the Crusades," in Lewis and Holt, op.cit., p. 104. See also Cahen, Syrie du nord, pp. 58-59.

²³Ed. Edward G. Brown, Vol. I, facsimile text, GMS XIV (Leyden/London, 1910), Vol. II, indices and abridged trans. (London, 1913).

²⁴ Sanaullah, pp. xxvi-xxvii.

²⁵Ed. Browne, p. 478, trans., p. 107.

is given.²⁶ On the Shirvanshahs and the Maliks of Darband there is nothing.

The two great Persian historians on the Mongols, CAta-Malik Juwaini and Rashid al-Din, have details of interest to us during the period of Jalal al-Din, the first quarter of the 7th/13th century. Juwaini's Ta'rikh-i Jahan-Gusha, written from 650/1252 to 658/1260, contains details on the fall of the Ildegizid dynasty and the last of the Bishkinids. Since he was appointed by the Il-Khanid Rulagr as governor of Baghdad and its surroundings, he unquestionably had access to documents and histories in the possession of the caliphate. In addition there are passing references to Shirvan, Darband and Georgia. The Jamical-Tawarikh of Rashid al-Din²⁹ has a section on the Seljuqs,

²⁶ Ibid., p. 441; the same material but in more detail is given by Masawi, Sirat, ed. Houdas, p. 18 (for full citation see below and for complete details see the Introduction to the Bishkinid corpus).

²⁷Ed. Mirza Muhammad Qazvini, 3 vols., CMS, XVI/1,2,3 (London, 1912, 1916, 1937); trans. John A. Boyle,
The History of the World-Conqueror, 2 vols. (Cambridge,
Mass., 1958).

The duties of his office finally forced him to put aside work on the history. For the details on his life and work see the introduction to Boyle's trans., pp. xv-xxxv, especially p. xxv.

Part I, ed. and trans., E. Quatremère, <u>Histoire</u> des Mongols de la Perse (Paris, 1836) is of no interest to this work. For reference to the ed. and tr. by I.N.Berezin

"Tawarikh-i-Ild-Seljuq,"30 which has much information on the Seljuqs of Iraq and the Ildegizids, but it is directly drawn from the Rahat al-sudur of Rawandi or from the latter's source, the Saljuqnamah, and therefore, contains nothing new.31

histories which mention in passing one or more of our dynasties or the Seljuqs of Iraq. Those from later centuries (after 7th/13th) are derivative, using one of the above mentioned sources for their information on our period. These works will only be listed here; full citations will be given as they are used in the corpus and in the bibliography. They are Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Muntazam fī Ta'rīkh (events up to 573/1177 mostly centered around Baghdad); Sibt ibn al-Jawzī (Syriam of the 7th/13th century, the son-in-law of the former), Mir'āt al-zamān; al-Hamavī (d. 1252), al-Ta'rīkh al-Mansūrī: Abu'l-Fidā' (d. 732/1331), al-Muntasar fī ta'rīkh al-Mansūrī: Abu'l-Fidā' (d. 732/1332-

⁽¹⁸⁵⁸⁻¹⁸⁸⁸⁾ see Boyle, p. xiiv; for Part II, ed. E. Blochet, GMS, XVIII (London, 1912). For a new trans. by the Russians, Sbornik letopisei, I/i, A.A. Khetagutov, I/ii, O.I. Smirnova (Moscow, 1952).

³⁰Section II, part v, ed. Ahmed Ates, "Dhikr-i TarIkh-i Il-i Salchuq," Tark Tarih Kurumu Yayinlarandan, Series III, No. 6 (Ankara, 1960); reference from Luther, p. 287.

³¹ Sansullah, p. xxvii.

808-1406), Kitāb al-cibar wa dīwān al-mubtadā'; al-cainī (762/1360-855/1451), al-Ta'rīkh: Mīrkhwānd (837/1433-904/1498), Rawdat al-safā'; Chaffārī, Jahān-ārā (completed in 972/1564); al-Khākī, Absan al-tawārīkh, a work of 1019/1610-11.

B. Local Histories

Because of its importance to the history of Shirvan and Darband, the <u>Ta'rīkh al-Bāb</u> has already been discussed above. There is also a collection of poems, letters and a narrative for Shirvan and Arran, especially the city of Baylaqan, for the end of the 5th/llth century by an official of the latter city, Mas^cūd b. Nāmdār, a Kurd by birth.³² Ibn al-Athīr's famous study on the Zangid atebegs of Mosul, <u>Ta'rīkh al-dawlat al-atābakiyyah: mulūk al-Mawsil</u>, ³³ which covers the same period as the last books of his <u>al-Kāmil</u>, though often with different facts contains many details on Ildegizids. The <u>Ta'rīkh Mayyāfāriqīn</u> by Ibn Azraq al-Fāriqī (510/1117-572/1176)³¹ discusses Georgia's relations with

³²The B.N. MS has now been completely rearranged and analyzed with an excerpt and translation of the text by V. Minorsky and C. Cahen, "Le Recueil Transcaucasien de Mas'td b. Nåndår," JA, CCXXXVII/1 (1949), pp. 93-142.

³³Ed. and trans., "Histoire des Atabeks de Mossoul," RHC, Historiens Orientaux, II (1876); see also Cahen, Syrie du nord, p. 58.

³⁴ The section for the years 559/1164-571/1175-6

Shirvan and hostilities against Shams al-Dīn Ildegiz. The author was in the service of the Georgian King Dimitri in the years 5+8-9/1153-+, during which time he accompanied the king of Darband. In describing his visit he identified the ruler of the city as Malik Musaffar, a very important fact for the history of the Maliks of Darband. Ibn Isfandiyar's Ta'rīkh-i Tabaristan (first quarter of the 7th/13th century) has interesting material on the later Ildegizids and the Seljuqs of Iraq. Seljuqs of Traq. Though not of much direct use for our dynasties, the Badā'i al-azmān II waqā'i ikirmān (events up to 612/1215) by Afdal al-Dīn Kirmānī³⁷ is important for relations between the Seljuqs

were published as additions to Ibn al-Qalanisi, ed. and summary in English, H.F. Amedroz, History of Damascus (Leyden, 1908), pp. 253-256, resume pp. 46-48. Minorsky has published in translation and analyzed other sections of the work (MS, B.M. Oriental 5803) in a series of studies: "Caucasica in the History of Mayyafariqin, "BSOAS, XIII/1 (1949), 27-35; Studies, pp. 79-106; and Sharvan, Annex V, pp. 170-172. See also C. Cahen, "Le Diyar Bakr au temps des premiers Urtukides," JA (1935), and idea, Syrie du nord, pp. 46-47.

³⁵ Minorsky, Sharvan, p. 139 and p. 170.

³⁶The first part is available in an abridged trans., E.G. Browne, <u>History of Tabaristan</u>, <u>GMS</u>, III (London, 1905); however, the more interesting second part is only available in the ed. by A. Iqbal with few notes and no index (Tehran, 1320/1902-3?), wee Inther's remarks, p. 281.

³⁷Ed. M. Bayani (Tehran, 1326/1908); see comments by Cahen, "Historiography," p. 76 and Luther, p. 282.

of Iraq and the Seljuqs of Kirman. 38

C. Biographies

Nasawī's biography of the Khwarazmshah Jalal alDin, Sirat al-sultam Jelul al-Din Mangubernī, 39 has the
most detailed account of the last days of the Ildegizid
and Bishkinid dynasties. The author who died in 647/1249,
was the secretary of the Khwarazmshah and provided a direct
account for the years 615/1218 to 629/1231. The text and
translation are based on a single manuscript in the
Bibliothèque Nationale. 40 Another biography, Juvaini's
Jahan-Gusha, is more a history than a biography and, thus,
has been discussed above.

D. Geographies

Two geographical works afford some minor data, but little which is not already available from other sources.

³⁸ city and province in southeastern Iran, where a prince of the Great Seljuq dynasty, Qawurt b. Chagri Beg, had already by the 430°s/1040°s carved out an independent Seljuq state which was to last for almost 150 years; for details see Cahen, Pre-Ottoman Turkey, p. 22; S. Lane-Poole, The Mohammadan Dynasties, p. 153; I. Kafesøglu, "Selçuklular," IA, Vol. 10, pp. 378-379.

³⁹Ed. and trans., 0. Houdas, <u>Histoire du Sultan</u>
<u>Dielal ed-Din Mankobirti</u>, 2 vols. (Paris, 1891, 1895), on
the spelling of the name see the note under the Bishkinid
corpus.

tandings and needs a thorough revision, Minorsky, Caucasica II", BSOAS, XIII/+ (1951), p. 868, n.2.

Yaqut's Muclam al-buldan written about 621/1124 has some fragmentary comments on the Shirvanshahs and Bishkinids. The Mushat al-Oulüb of Qazwini (d. 740/1340) is a late Il-Khanid source with interesting sections on Adharbayjan, the tuman (district) of Bishkin, Shirvan, Darband, Arran, and other areas of Caucasia. Its greatest use is the comparison of the revenue from each province and district of the Il-Khanid empire with the tax collected in Seljuq times.

E. Travel Accounts

The Spanish traveller Abu-Hamid al-Andalusi al-Gharnati (d. 565/1169-70) visited Barband some time between 524/1130 and 545/1150.43 In his Tuhfat al-Albab he

Hd. F. Wästenfeld, 6 vols. (Leipzig, 1866-1873), reprint (Tehran, 1965); new edition, 5 vols. (Beirut, 1957).

¹⁴² Ed. Guy Le Strange, GMS, XXIII/1 (London, 1915); trans., idea, The Geographical Part of the Mushat al-Gulub (London, 1919).

⁴³ Minorsky, Sharvan, p. 139.

httpd. Gabriel Ferrand, "Le Tuhfat al-Albab," JA, 1925, no.1, text, pp. 1-148, 193-204, resume and partial translation, pp. 241-283.

mentions the name of the Malik of Darband, which along with Ibn al-Azraq's testimony (<u>supra</u> p. 12) helps us establish the line of these rulers. As an example of negative evidence, demonstrating the remoteness of this area from the caliphate, another Spanish traveller to the Middle East, Ibn Jubayr, visited than Baghdad between 578/1183-581/1185, but does not mention a single person or place from southeastern Caucasia and Adharbayjan, not even the Seljuqs of Iraq. 45

F. The Miwans of the Court Poets

This material is especially important for the history of Sharvan in the 6th/12th century when Minuchihr II graced his court with Persian poets; of these the two most famous were Falaki-i Shirvani and Khaqani. 46 Their

⁴⁵ The Rible, ed. M.J. de Goeje (revision of edition by W. Wright), GEE, V (Leiden/London, 1907; reprint, 1949); trans., R. Broadhurst, The Travels of Ibn Jubayr (London, 1952). Ibn Jubayr does mention the Seljuqs of Rum, the branch of the family in Anatolia, in several places, e.g., trans., p. 227.

Whaqani, the poet of the Khaqan; his real name was Afdal al-Din Ibrahim Badil b. Call Shirvani, see Ahmed Ates, "Hakani," IA. A third poet in the court was Abu'l-Cali, regarded as the teacher of the other two; for an important surviving fragment in the Haft Iqlim (dated 1002/1593-4; MSS, B.M., Or. 203 and Or. 4902) by Amin Ahmad-i Rasi, see Hasan, Falaki, "Appendix," pp. 95-96.

divans (collected poems)¹⁻⁷ are full of historical references not only of importance to the Shirvanshahs, but also to the Ildegizids, the Maliks of Darband, and the Georgians. The historical data in their poems have been the subject of several important studies.¹⁻⁸ To a lesser extent the famous Mizami's works are helpful; his <u>Layla va Mainun</u> was dedicated to Akhsatan b. Minuchihr II, while his <u>Ilmeray</u> was Shirin and <u>Iskandarnamah</u> were dedicated to the Ildegizids Muhammad Pahlawan and Abu Bakr respectively.¹⁻⁹

The Ildegizids and their overlords the Seljuqs of Iraq had also a large number of panegyrists besides Mizami; unfortunately, they have not received any systematic study from an historical point of view. Their divans may prove to be a fruitful source for this period. The following list

⁴⁷ For Falaki, <u>Divan-i-Falaki</u>, ed. H. Hasan, <u>Royal</u> Asiatic Society (London, 1930); for <u>Khāqānf</u>, <u>Fallivit-i-Falaki</u> (Lucknow, 1295/1876), and more recently, <u>Divan</u>, A. CAbdorrasuli (Tehran, 1316/1937-8).

W. Khanikov, "Mémoire sur Khācāni, poète persan du XII siècle," JA, 1864; K. Salemann, Chémrostishiia Khakani (St. Petersburg, 1875); Hadī Hasan, Falakī-i-Shirwani: His Times. Life, and Works, "RAS (London, 1929), with two supplements, q.v., infra, "Bibliography;" V. Minorsky, "Khaqani and Andromicus Comnenus," BSOAS (1945), pp. 550-578, reprinted, idem, Iranica, pp. 120-150.

⁴⁹ misami flourished from the mid-6th/12th to the early 7th/13th century. For his life, works (including editions and translations) see Ahmed Ates, "Mizami," IA.

is neither complete nor detailed, but gives some idea of what is available for study. Daadi-i Shahriyari, Diwan (MS, B.M., Or. 298) was a panegyrist of Muhammad Pahlavan b. Ildegiz; Athir al-Din Akhsikati, Diwan (MS, B.M., Or. 268), panegyrist of Qizl Arslan b. Ildegiz and Sultan Arslanshah b. Tughril; the brothers Zahir al-Din and Sharaf al-Din Shufurwah (MS, India Office, no.240 for the former; no reference for the latter), wrote for sultans Arslanshah b. Tughril II and Tughril III b. Arslanshah; Zahir al-Din Faryabi, Diwan (MS, B.M., Add. 19, 498) was the court poet of Abū Bakr the Ildegizid. 50

Finally, the <u>Lubab al-Albab</u>⁵¹ of the poet from Transoxiana, ^CAvfī (572/1176-635/1232-3), has a section on the Seljuqs with information on the Ildegizids, and, the <u>Tadhkirat al-Shu^Cara</u> (of 892/1487)⁵² of Dawlatshah contains many interesting excerpts from poets like Faryabī with details on the Ildegidids.

⁵⁰Ed. (Tehran, 1324/1906). The manuscript references for these poets were taken from Hasan, Falaki, passim.

⁵¹Ed., E.G. Browne, <u>Persian Historical Texts Series</u>, Part I (1906), Part II (1903), n.p. (?), reference from M. Mizamu'd-din, <u>Introd. to the Javani...of...al-CAvfI</u>, GMS, 'New Series, VIII (London, 1929), p. 3.

⁵²Ed. E. G. Browne, <u>The Tadhkiratu 'sh-Shu^cara</u> ("Memoires of the Poets") (Leyden/London, 1901). Like ^CAwff, Dawlatshih was from Transoxiana, but Samarqand instead of Bukhara like the former.

G. Collections of Sources

There are several collections of Islamic sources relative to southeastern Caucasia and Adharbayjān. The long article by C. Defrémery⁵³ already cited (supra, n.21) has relevant passages from Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn al-Jawzī, and Ibn Khaldūn. Sections XIII, XVII, XXII, and XXIII of M.F. Brosset, Additions et éclaircissements à l'Ristoire de la Géorgie, 54 contains extracts from Arabic and Persian sources. The four volumes of M.Th. Houtsma's Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Selioucides, 55 are not all useful for this study, but these authors which are, have been discussed under "General Marrative Histories" above. The Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Historiens Orientaux, 56 contains some important texts and excerpts, such as works by Ibn al-Athīr, with translations. Finally,

⁵³Fragments de géographes et d'historiens arabes et persans inédits, relatifs aux anciens peuples du Caucase et de la Russie méridionale, traduits et accompagnés de notes critiques," JA, Series 4, XIII-XVII (1849-1851).

⁵⁴gt. Petersburg, 1851; for full citation see the next section on Georgian sources.

Muhammed Ibrahîm (Leyden, 1886); II, Histoire des Selloucides de l'Irag: d'après Imad ad-Din al-Katib al-Isfahini, abridgement by al-BundErf(1889); III, Turkish adaptation of Ibn Bībī by Yasiji-oğlu (1902); IV, Histoire des Selioucides d'asie Mineure d'après l'abrégé du Seldieuknamen d'Ibn-Bībī (1902).

⁵⁶Five volumes (Paris, 1841-1906), reprint 1966-67.

there is N.A. Karaulov's rare <u>Information of Arab Writers</u> concerning the Caucasus, Armenia and Adherbayian (in Russian). 57

II. THE GEORGIAN SOURCES

period is the Georgian Royal Annals (Cart Clis C Novreba), a collection of histories. There are various recensions including an Armenian translation of the 6th/12th to 7th/13th century. The most famous redaction of King Vaxtang VI (1703-1761) has been edited and translated by M.F. Brosset in his monumental Histoire de la Géorgie depuis l'antiquité jusqu'au XIX siècle with a volume of Additions et Eclaircisse-

⁵⁷ Svedenija arabskikh pisatelei o Kavkaze. Armenii i Azerbeidzhane, Sbornik materialov dlia opisanija mesnostei i plemen Kavkaza (Collection of Material for the Description of Places and Peoples of the Caucasus), Vols. XXII (1901), XXII (1902), XXIII (1903). I have not been able to make use of the copy of this work supposedly in the Yale University Library. See also the handy guide on the Arab sources, Z.M. Buniistov, Obzor istochnikov po istorii Azerbaidshana: istochniki arabskie (Outline of the Sources concerning the History of Adharbavian: the Arab Sources) (Baku, 1964), 36 pages.

⁵⁸The five major parts with more recent Georgian editions are listed in detail by C. Toumanoff in the bibliographical guide of the new edition of the <u>Cambridge Medieval Ristory</u>, Vol. IV, Part I (Cambridge, England, 1966), p. 991.

⁵⁹ Juanser, <u>Vrac patent ciwn (History of Georgia)</u>, ed. (Venice, 1884).

ments. 60 The Annals are an invaluable source for our whole period and all the dynasties whose coins are treated in this study. The Bishkinid Maliks of Ahar and the Ildegizids are discussed in relationship to military hostilities carried out against the Georgians, while the Maliks of Darband and especially the Shirvanshahs both with Georgian matrimonial ties, are regarded almost as cousins.

Other Georgian sources might prove interesting if they were more accessible. An excellent list of them with editions and translation (in so far as they exist) is given by Toumanoff in the work cited supra, n. 58.

One notes for instance the 7th/13th century Khwarazmian Invasion of Georgia by Abuserije, Bishop of Tbet'i, which is available only in an old Georgian edition. 61 like the

⁶⁰part I, Books l and 2, Ancient History until 1469 (1849-1850), Georgian text; Part II, Modern History 1469-1800 (1854), Georgian text; trans. Part II, Books l and 2, with additions in each, Modern History (1846, 1857); Additions et éclaircissements, for the Ancient History (1851); Introduction et tables de matières (1858); in all nine volumes, a reprint of which is announced. For a complete table of contents of all volumes see M. Miansarov' (Miansareanc), Bibliographia Caucasica et Transcaucasica, Tom? I, Otd'ly I i II (all published), (St Petersburg, 1874-1876), pp. 564-578. The work is in French, Russian and Armenian; reprint (Amsterdam, 1967).

⁶¹ Ed. in T. Zordania, Chronicles and Other Materials for the History of Georgia (in Georgian), 2 vols. (Tiflis, 1892-1897), Vol. II.

diving of the poets discussed in the last section, the Georgian material could contain new and interesting historical information on the dynasties in this work.

III. THE SYRIAC SOURCES

of the Crusades, Zangids, Ayyūbids, Great Seljuqs, Seljuqs of Rūm, and Mongols, are disappointing for events in Caucasia and Adharbayjān. The two important sources for our period are the <u>Chronicle</u> of Michael the Syrian (520/1126-595/1199) reaching the year 592/1196⁶² and the <u>Chronography</u> by Gregory Abū 'l-Faraj, called Bar Hebraeus (Arabic: Ibn al^CIbrī), (622/1225-685/1286), continues the narrative to 685/1286.⁶³ There is an early abridged version of Michael the Syrian with a short continuation by the Armenian priest Isahak to 646/1248.⁶⁴ It has a very confused

⁶² Mi. and trans. (partial), J.B. Chabot, Chronique de Michel le Syrien, 4 vols. (Paris, 1899-1910); for Russian trans. of sections dealing with Adharbayjan, see Guseinov (Huseinov), op.cit. (infra, n.133), pp. 25-52.

⁶³Ed. (facsimile) and trans., E.A. Wallis Budge, The Chronography, 2 vols. (London, 1932); Arabic abridgement by the author, Ibn al-Gibrī, ed. A. Salihani, Ta'rīkh mukhtasar al-duwal (Beirut, 1890); Russian trans. (excerpts), Guseinov, ibid., pp. 64-89.

⁽Chronicle History) (Jerusalem, 1871), trans., Victor Langlois, Chronique de Michel le Grand (Venice, 1868), and also in RHC, Documents arméniens, Vol. I.

allusion to Ildegiz and some poor bits on the Seljuq sultan Mas^cud b. Muhammad; the Syriac version contains little more.

The generally rich Chronicle of Bar Hebrauus has scatterings of details of relations between the CAbbasid caliphate and the Seljuqs of Iraq from 516/1122 to 575/1180. Then two or three more elaborate scraps, but not more than a few lines each, about the Ildegizids Pahlavan and his sons Abū Bakr and Qutlugh Inanj. The sections on the Khwarasmshah Jalal al-Dīn are fruitless for our purposes and dwell particularly on the latters' involvement in the affairs of the city of Akhlat. Perhaps one should not expect more from a Christian living and writing near Mavsil. There is no mention of events in Shirwan and Darband, and hardly anything on the Christian kingdom of Georgia.

IV. THE ARMENIAN SOURCES

The late 5th/llth century writer Aristakes Lastivertci (464/1071) relates the taking of Ani by Sultan Alp Arslan in 456/1064, but unfortunately nothing about Seljuq relations with the Shirvanshahs.⁶⁵ The contemporary 6th/12th

⁶⁵Critical ed. K.W. Yusbasyan, <u>Pataut'iwn</u> (<u>History</u>) (Erevan, 1963); trans. E. Prud'houme, <u>Revue de l'Orient</u>, Ser. 3, XV-XVII (Paris, 1863-1864).

century sources, so useful for the southern areas of Armenia, are disappointing for eastern Caucasia and Adharbayjān.

The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa (Matteos Urhayeci) from 341/1952 to 531/1136 with a continuation by Gregory the Priest (Grigor Erec) to 563/116866 has accounts of the Georgian raids against Arrān, Shirvān and Ani in circa 518/1124 and 557/1161-2. Though Ildegiz was involved in the latter episode, he is not mentioned by name and likewise there is no mention of other personalities in this study except for Seljuq sultans of Iraq in passing. Samuel of Ani's (Samuel Aneci) Chronology to 575/1179 with an anonymous continuation to 759/135867 has some abbreviated notices on Georgian-Muslim conflicts mentioned by Matthew.

The most interesting 6th/12th century source is the incomplete Chronicle of Mxitiar Gos. 68 It was written

⁶⁶patmut iwn (<u>History</u>), ed. (Jerusalem, 1869), excerpts with trans. in <u>RHC</u>, <u>Documents arméniens</u>, Vol. I; trans. E. Dulaurier (Paris, 1858).

⁶⁷ Zamanakagrut'iwn (Chronology), ed. A. Ter-Martéean (Valarsapat, 1893), ed. (extracts) and Fr. trans. in RHC, Doc. Arm., I; Latin trans., J. Zohrab and A. Mai (Milan, 1818); Fr. trans., M.F. Brosset, Collection d'historiens arméniens, Vol. II (St. Petersburg, 1876).

⁶⁸ The text is given in 7. Alisan, Havapatum, patmut'iwn Havoc (History of the Armenians), Vol. II (Venice, 1901), pp. 276-278 and 338-353. There is now an English translation with introduction and elaborate notes by C.J. F. Dowsett, "The Albanian Chronicle of Mxit'ar Gos," BSOAS, XXI/3 (1958), pp. 472-490. The appellation "Albanian" (Arm.: Armank') is Dowsett's; the work has no title and was appended to the same author's Datastanagirk' (Book of the Tribunals) in a Venice MS, see ibid., p. 473 for details.

circa 580/1184, but relates events in Arran, especially the city of Ganja (Arm.: Ganjak), in great detail from about 533/1139 to 557/1162. Relations between Shams al-Din Ildegiz and the Ahmadili atabegs (supra, "Introd.", n.14) are discussed as are those between these two atabeg dynasties and their Iraqi Seljuq overlords. Ildegiz's rise to the leadership of the Seljuq domains is presented in most clear terms. The narrative breaks off abruptly with the Georgian-Muslim raids and counter-raids in the area in 557/1162.69

Mention has already been made of the Armenian abridgement of Michel the Syrian with continuation (supra, n.64) and the Armenian adaptation by Juanser of the Georgian Annals (supra, n.59). For the 7th/13th century the History of Kirakos of Ganja (Ganjakeci), 70 a narrative to 663/1265, though rich about events in Ganja is disappointing for our purpose. Beside the Khwarasmshah Jalal al-DIn, there is no mention of persons in this study. There is the occurrence of the name Beaken, not the same as our Bishkin, but of interest to the general questions of the latter name.

⁶⁹ The work is furthermore full of personalities, mostly Turkic, not found in other sources, see <u>ibid</u>., p.475.

⁷⁰Critical ed., K.A. Melik*-Öhanjanyan (Erevan, 1961), extracts and trans., RHC. Doc. arm., Vol. I; Fr. trans. M.F. Brosset, Deux historiens arméniens, Vol. I (St. Petersburg, 1870); Russ. trans., Vardapet T. Ter-Grigorian (Baku, 1946).

On the other hand Vardan Vardapet, an exact contemporary of Kirakos (both died in 670/1271), has written extensive passages on Ildegiz and his two sons Pahlavan and qist Arslan and their relationships with the Seljuqs of Iraq and the Shaddadids of Ani (supra, "Introd.," n.15) in his Universal History 12 to the year 663/1265. Vardan must have had access to a history of the period which has not come down to us. Stephen Orbelian (Steptannos Orbelean) seems also to have had access to an earlier source which may or may not have been the same. In his Ristory of the Province of Siunik¹⁷² written in 697/1297 the Ilderizids have a prominent place in the events from 540°s/1150°s to the 580's/1180's. Like Mxit'ar Gos and Vardan, Stephan has kind words for the atabegs on several occasions. What is unique in his account is the relationship, friendly and protective, of the Ildegizids toward the Princes of the

⁷¹Ed. (Venice, 1862); extracts and trans., RHC, Doc. arm., Vol. I; Fr. trans. (extracts), E. Dulaurier, Les Mongols d'après les historiens arméniens (Paris, 1861).

⁷² For ed. and trans., see supra, "Introd.," n.24. Both Step annos and Vardan may have had access to the now lost Ristory of the Origin of the Turks by Vardapet Yovhannes Sarkawag who died circa 523/1129. For details on his life and work see G. Z(arphanalean), Raykakan him dprut ean natuut iwn (Literary History of Ancient Armenia) 2nd ed. (Venice, 1897), pp. 606-616, esp. p. 609.

house of Siunik¹. ⁷³ There is also a curious reference to an Abriton "who ruled the Persians and Georgians and Albanians," ⁷⁴ which could be an exaggerated allusion to Afrīdun b. Farīburz, Shirvanshāh at the end of the 5th/llth century, g.y., the Corpus. Beside this there is, as with Kirakos and Vardan, no mention by name of a Shirvanshāh.

An anonymous chronicle of the late 6th/12th or perhaps early 7th/13th century, recently published, 75 also considers Ildegiz along with the Shah-i Armen (6th/12th century Muslim rulers of Akhlat) and Saltuq, ruler of Erserum (d. 560/1165), as philo-Christians. 76 Another very

⁷³ Ildegiz sent an army with Liparit Orbelean against the Georgian King, but upon its defeat Liparit and his son Elikum take refuge with the Ildegizids Pahlavan and Qizal Arslan; the date for this is around or after 573/1177 two years after the death of Ildegiz, but this mistake in chronology does not take away from the importance of the content. See ed. K. Shahnazarean, Vol. II (Paris, 1859), pp. 136-138, trans., Brosset, pp. 221-222; cf. V. Minorsky, "The Princes Orbeli in Persia," "Caucasia II/2," BSOAS, XIII/4 (1951), pp. 874-877.

⁷⁴m ... or tireal or Parsic ev Vrac ev Alvanic." See ibid., II, p. 114, trans., p.210.

⁷⁵ Ananum Samanakagrut'yun (Anonymous Chronicle), ed., H. Manvelyan and H. Abrahamyan (Erevan, 1940); but see more recently V.A. Hakobyan, Manr Samanakagrut'yunner XIII-XVIII dd. (Minor Chronicles of the XIII-XVIII Centuries), Vol. II (Erevan, 1956), No. IV, pp. 115-172.

⁷⁶Ed. Hakobyan, p. 134; cf. supra, "Introd.", n.24, for the statement of Vardan.

short anonymous chronicle shows Ildegiz still alive in 571/1175, laying siege to Ani; the same notice also rightly indicates that the Seljuq sultan Arslänshäh b. Tughril (though not named) was also still alive. 77

A search through the published colophons of Armenian manuscripts has turned up little. A 5th/llth (?) century manuscript has the spelling Siruan (pronounce: Sirvan)⁷⁸ which will prove interesting to a later discussion. Another dating from 574/ll78-9⁷⁹ refers to qisl Arslan and Liparit together confirming the testimony of Step*anos Örbēlean, supra, n.73. Some early 9th/l5th century colophons are also interesting for the confirmation of the name Bēšken (Bīshkīn) among Siunik* princes. 80

⁷⁷ Hakobyan, II, No. XXIV, pp. 499-504. The entire chronicle takes up two ME leaves, four pages. The narrative ends at 572/1176; curiously the last year given is 619 A.D. as the year when Muhammad (Mahmet) appeared, p. 502. Ildegiz died at the end of this same year; this is one of the few sources, Armenian or non-Armenian, which is accurate on this point; see for instance Hakobyan's own note, p. 504, n.18, where following Lane-Poole, <u>Dynasties</u>, he states Ildegiz is dead by 568/1172 and suggests the anonymous chronicler is in error.

⁷⁸ Garegin I Kat'olikos (Yovsep'ean), Yisatakarank' jeragrac (Colophons of Manuscripts), Vol. I, Fifth Century patil 1250 A.D. (Ant'ilias, 1951), No.76, Col. 191; cf., Servan, No.75, Col. 180, of the same period.

⁷⁹<u>Ibid.</u>, No. 216, Col. 473.

⁸⁰ L.A. Kacikyan, <u>JE dari Haverth jeragreri hisatak-aranner (Colophons from XV Century Armenian Manuscripts)</u>, Vol. I (1401-1450) (Erevan, 1955), see index under Besk'en, p. 683, for other forms, e.g., Pesk'en, and references.

Finally, the voluminous 13th/18th century <u>History</u> of the Armenians by Fr. Mik'ayel cameean⁸¹ discusses in some detail the Ildegizids. On the whole question of the attitude of the Armenian sources toward Ildegizids one should see the remarks of H. Manandean already cited.⁸²

V. EPIGRAPHY

The Muslim inscriptions of southeastern Caucasia were studied in the mid-nineteenth century in a series of articles by N.V. Khanykov⁸³ and B. Dorn.⁸⁴ They are listed, though not exhaustively, in Miansarof's <u>Bibliographia</u>.⁸⁵ Various recent monographs on specific monuments especially in Adharbayjan will be listed in the notes as they are used

⁸¹ Pataut'iwn hayoc (History of Armenians), 3 vols. (Venice, 1784-1786).

⁸² Supra, "Introd.," n.24, esp. Critical Survey, III, pp. 106-107 and n.1 with reference to a work of 1903.

⁸³ The most important and comprehensive is "Hémoire sur les inscriptions musulmanes du Caucase," JA (1862).

St. Peters., Mélanges asiatiques, Vol. IV.

⁸⁵ op.cit., "Les Antiquités et Inscriptions Mahométans," pp. 412-414.

and in the bibliography. A new work by L.I. Lavrova has brought much of this material together. ⁸⁶ The collective Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie Arabe ⁸⁷ is very incomplete for the Caucasus, though a few of the inscriptions published by Khanykov have been reproduced making them somewhat more accessible. In general the inscriptional material is only useful for the Shirvanshah dynasty for which it is a great aid in establishing the chronology and genealogy. Finally, the mainismatic data, which are epigraphal, will be presented in the corpus.

VI. NUMISMATIC LITERATURE

The numismatic literature falls into three categories: the pioneer identification of these dynasties' coins in the early and mid-nineteenth century, catalogues of the great museum collections which began to appear toward the end of the same century, and the recent Soviet studies done almost exclusively by E.A. Pakhomov. The principal reason for the

Bpigrafisheskie pamiatniki Severnogo Kavkaza na arabakom, persidakom i turetakom iazvkakh (The Epigraphical Monuments of Morthern Caucasia in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish Languages), Vol. I: Madpisi I-XVII vv. (Moscow, 1966).

⁸⁷Eds. Et. Combe, J. Sauvaget, G. Wiet, <u>Institut</u> <u>Français d'Archéologie Orientale</u>, 16 vols. (Cairo, 1931-1964), thus far to 764/1363; see especially vols. IX-XI (1937-1942), which cover the years 550/1155-653/1255.

comparatively late identification and categorising of these coins is their bronze and copper composition. Early numismatic collections, especially the royal 'Cabinet des Médailles', concentrated on the precious, more beautiful gold and silver pieces. Only in the nineteenth century is the historical value of all Islamic coins appreciated.

The first publication of an Ildegizid coin was by C.M. Fraehn in 1821; 88 unfortunately, five years later he misattributed another specimen to this dynasty. 89 However, by the publication of his Mova Supplementa 90 in 1855 coins struck by each of the five Ildegizid atabegs had been identified. Coincidently the just mentioned misattribution was in reality the first published issue of the Bishkinids, 91 but it was not until the Mova Supplementa that the dynasty, called the Maliks of Ahar after the

⁸⁸ Des muhammedanischen Münzen des asiatischen Museum..., (St. Petersburg, 1821), p. 42; a coin of Muhammad Pahlavan b. Ildegiz.

⁸⁹ Attributed to Usbek b. Muhammad, see infra, n.91.

⁹⁰ Nova Supplementa ad Recensionem numorum Muhammedanorum, posthumously edited by B. Dorn and often cited under his name (St. Petersburg, 1855), pp. 275-276.

⁹¹ coin of Mahmud b. Bishkin, C. Fraehn, Recension Muhammedanorum... (St. Petersburg, 1826), p. 618, no.6,2, corrected by Dorn, Mova Supplementa, p. 276.

prevalence of the mint name Ahar, was firmly established. The name Bishkin was incorrectly read as "Meschtegin." Since literary references to the dynasty were not established until the thirties of this century, 93 mistaken and guessed readings continued for more than eighty years.

Frachn was also first to publish coins of the Shirvanshahs, once again in the <u>Nova Supplementa</u>. These coins and those of the above mentioned Ildegizids and Bishkinids were more precisely identified and described in a series of articles, in the form of letters or reports, by A. Bartholomaci and F. Soret appearing in the <u>Revue</u>

<u>Promispatique</u> and the <u>Revue</u> de la <u>Funismatique</u> Belge from 1858 to 1864. The same articles the coins of the Maliks of Darband were identified and published for the

⁹²Dorn, <u>ibid.</u>; "Metcheghin," Soret, RW (1860), p. 71.

⁹³ I.P. Petrushevskii, "Beshkenidy-Pishtegenidy," in 1937, full reference, infra, n.138, and bibliography; the numerous incorrect variants of the name will be treated in the introduction of the Bishkinid corpus.

published example seems to have been by Fraehn emiler, Orient. Münzen. Arbeiten der Kurlindischen Gesellschaft (Mitau, 1847), II, p. 57; reference from Dorn, ibid., and E. Pakhomov, Excursus, p. 28 with a vague reference to Fraehn's work in the "40's;" for Excursus, see infra, n.107.

^{95&}lt;sub>RW</sub> (1859-1860); RWB (1858-1862)(1864).

first time under the nomenclature the "Kings of Karabagh," 96 though later "Seljuqs of Adharbayjan" was also used. 97 Soret and Bartholomaei also published the first coin of the unidentified vassal of the Ildegizids, but incorrectly as an issue of the Bishkinids. 98 This error was carried into modern times until Pakhomov pointed out that they were not coins of Bishkin b. Muhammad, but belonged to an unknown vassal. 99

Except for a few short articles; the numismatic

⁹⁶RMB (1858), pp. 105, 258-259; actually first mention was a year earlier, Bartholomaei, Bull, hist.-phil. de l'Acad., XIV (1857), p. 249, the report of a hoard found near Tiflis; reference from E.A. Pakhomov, "O derbendskom kniazhestve XII-XIII vv.," Izdatel'stvo AzGMII, II/1 (Baku, 1930), p. 12, n.1.

⁹⁷A speculation by soret, RM, (1859), p. 482, details in the introduction to their corpus, infra.

⁹⁸ Soret, RM (1860), pp. 70-71, where first identified as Ildegizid coin, but later, RMB (1864), pp. 56-57, n.l, corrected, i.e., changed, to a Bishkinid piece; see another RMB (1861), p. 49, no.25.

⁹⁹ Klady, II (1938), H426, p. 30, and more assuredly, Klady, VII (1957), H1799, nos. 402-405, pp. 50-51.

¹⁰⁰Dorn, B., "Rine Münze des Schirwanschahed Minnischehr," Bull. de l'Acad., VII (1864), pp. 482-484, the same also in Mél. asiat., V, pp. 218-220, reference from Miansarof, p. 424; J. Karabacek, WMM (1868), pp. 70-71, Bishkinid coin wrongly attributed to the Ildegisids.

work done on these dynasties for the next sixty years is confined to their appearance in the catalogues of various famous Islamic collections, technically starting with Frahm's Resensio in the Mova Supplementa, which represented the collection of the Imperial Academy in St. Petersburg. 101 Then, O. Blau's catalogue of the Odessa Museum, 1876, 102 for the Bishkinids and Shirvanshahs; S. Lane-Poole's catalogue of the British Museum collection, Vol. III (1877) 103 for Bishkinid coins; Istanbul Museum catalogue of 1894 by I. Ghālib 104 again for Bishkinid coins; the catalogue of the Hermitage Museum by A. Markov' of 1896 for all dynasties except the unidentified vassal; and J. gstrup's catalogue of the Hational Museum in Copenhagen

¹⁰¹ See supra, nn. 90-91.

¹⁰² Die Orientalischen Minzen des Museums der Kaiserlichen Historisch-Archieologischen Gesellschaft zu Odessa.

¹⁰³ Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum, Vol. III (London, 1877).

¹⁰⁴ Ismā cīlchālib, Mise-yi-Rûmayûn, Meskukāt-i-Qadīmeh-i-Islāmiyyeb Qataloghi (Constantinople, 1312/1894-1895).

Inventarnyi Katalog Musul'manshikh' Monet' Imperatorskogo Ermitasha (St. Petersburg, 1896-1904), with three supplements; legends of coins are seldom given.

of 1938¹⁰⁶ with coins of the Ildegizids, Bīshkīnids and Maliks of Darband.

However, most of this early identification and classification work has been superseded starting in the 1920's in a series of numismatic and historical monographs by the late E.A. Pakhomov. In 1923 he published his short history of Adharbayjan with an Excursus on the Shirvanshahs of the 5th/llth-8th/l+th centuries. 107 Mostly based on newer numismatic material, the Excursus is a numismatic and epigraphic history organized chronologically by ruler. It contains a completely reorganized and augmented genealogy subsequently adopted by Minorsky in his History of Sharvan and Darband. 108 Then in 1926 there appeared the first fascicule of Pakhomov's monumental Coin Hoards of Adharbayian and the Caucasus; 109 it listed those hoards found prior to

¹⁰⁶ Catalogue des monnaies Arabes et Turques du cabinet royal des médailles du musée national de Copenhague (Copenhagen, 1938); the work redounds with errors.

¹⁰⁷partially cited supra, n.94, <u>Kratkii kurs</u>
istorii Azerbaidshana, s prilozheniem ekskursa po istorii
shirvanshakhov XI-XIV vv. (A Short Course of the History of
Adharbayjan, with an Excursus on the Shirvanshahs of the
XI-XIV Centuries) (Baku, 1923); for the Excursus see pp.25-48.

¹⁰⁸ Excursus, pp. 45-46; Sharvan, p. 135; also reproduced in Z.M. Bunilatov, "Nekotorye dopolneniia k genealogii shirvanshakhov-kesranidov," ISAMAS, 1965, no.6, p. 48, cf. infra, n.159.

¹⁰⁹ Monetnye klady Azerbaidzhana i Zakavkaz'ia (Baku, 1926).

1920 reaching back to the early nineteenth century. The subsequent fascicules 110 recorded new finds as they were discovered. In the series the hoards are number consecutively (2,160 by the end of fascicule IX) and arranged in each fascicule chronologically by period and dynasty in so far as that is possible, i.e., a single hoard often contains Byzantine, Georgian and Islamic coins, making it difficult to choose a completely satisfactory location. As might be expected of any work endeavouring to digest so much material, its use for a corpus of specific coins is often frustrating. In some fascicules details are minute, both observe and reverse legends as well as weight, diameter and thickness being given; other times there is an abbreviated description not allowing precise classification, or even worse, entries such as "26 (coins of) Abu Bakr with caliph al-Masir." On the other hand the date, place of discovery, finder and present provenance of almost every hoard is indicated. It is the largest single source of references for coins of all the dynasties represented in the corpus of this work. The thoroughness of Pakhomov's indefatigable industry gives one the secure feeling that

llo Fasc. II, Klady Azerbaidzhana i drugikh respublik i kraev Kavkaza (Baku, 1938); III (Baku, 1942); IV (1949); V (1949); VI (1954); VII (1957); VIII (1963); IX (1966) posthumously, Pakhomov having died in the spring of 1965. The fascicules have varying titles; they are indexed by dynasties and proper names.

all such coins unearthed in Caucasia are listed in one place or another in this work.

In 1930 Pakhomov turned his attention to the Maliks of Darband by way of a short monograph on their coinage, lll which properly identified the dynasty for the first time. A one page table broadly enumerates the coin types of the dynasty, but unfortunately like the Excursus on the Shirvanshahs only partial and generalized legends are given. Nevertheless, this article like the Excursus are excellent checks for a corpus; of course in the past four decades much new material has been found, all of which will be presented in the respective corpora of the two dynasties.

rinally, throughout his long career as numismatist and economic historian, Pakhomov published scores of monographs on specific coins, important hoards, chemical analyses, and monetary circulation; these will be cited as they are used in the corpus and will be found in the bibliography. 113

¹¹¹ Op.cit., supra, n.96.

^{112&}lt;sub>Ibid</sub>., p. 3.

¹¹³A rather complete list of his publications can be found in I. Spasskii and V. Yanin, "Sovetskaia mumicumatika bibliograficheskii ukazatel" 1917-1958 gg., "Mumicumatika i epigrafika, II (Moscow, 1960), pp. 155-209, which includes the work on Armenian, Georgian and Amerbayjani numisuatics.

Regretably, Pakhomov was never able to prepare a corpus of any Islamic dynasty like his work on the coins of Georgia; 114 furthermore, during his life time not a single study devoted to the coinage of the Ildegizids or Bīshkīnids appeared. 115

Most recently an Armenian scholar Kh. Mushegian in his Monetary Circulation of Dvin according to Numismatic Data 116 has provided a minute and precise description of the hundreds of Ildegizid coins found in the excavation of this medieval commercial center. It is curious that not a single coin from any of the other dynasties in this study is represented in the finds at Dvin; the implied isolation of Shirvan and Darband will be discussed later. For its scientific presentation and description of coins and for its discussion of the relevance of the numismatic evidence to the economic history of the area, Mushegian's work should serve as a model.

In addition to this specific numismatic literature

¹¹⁴ Monety Grusii, chast! I (domongol'sky period), (The Coins of Georgia, Part I (The Pre-Mongol Period), all published (St. Petersburg, 1910).

July 1965, Z.M. Bunilatov informed me of a manuscript (incomplete?) among the papers of Pakhomov (he had died two months before) about the Maliks of Ahar and the Ildegizids. In the same letter Bunilatov remarks that he is working on a history of the Ildegizid atabegate.

^{116&}lt;sub>Op.cit.</sub>, "Introd.," n.4.

various historical monographs have included material on the coinage of this area. The work of H. Hasan and V. Minorsky have already been cited; 117 other studies, mostly Russian and Americanyjani, will be found in the bibliography and as used. As for general numismatic questions which effect southeastern Caucasian and Adharbayjan, the only one on which there is any significant work done is the disappearance of silver coinage in the Middle East in the 5th/11th-6th/12th centuries, the so-called 'silver crisis.' There have been important studies by Robert P. Blake, H. Koiava, Pakhomov, E.A. Davidovich, and Mushegian considering the question and its relation to Caucasia. 118 Most recently Andrew M. Watson

¹¹⁷ For Basan, see supra, Chap. II, n.48; Minorsky, Sharvan, esp. Annexes I and II, pp. 129-141, and "Caucasica II," op.cit.

R.P. Blake, "The Circulation of Silver in the Moslem East down to the Mongol Epoch," Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, II (1937), pp. 291-328; N.N. Koiava, "Deneshnoe obrashchenie Gruzii v epokhu Rustaveli (The Monetary Circulation of Georgia during the Rustaveli Epoch)," Sbornik Rustaveli (Tiflis, 1938), pp. 113-128; E.A. Pakhomov, "Monetnoe obrashchenie Aserbaidzhana v XII i nachale XIII veka (The Monetary Circulation of Adharbayjan in the XIIth and the Beginning of the XIIIth Centuries), "Municaticheskii sbornik, XXVI (1957), pp. 82-90; E.A. Davidovich, "Gorod, remeslo i deneshnoe obrashchenie v sredniei Azii perioda tak nazyvaemogo 'serebrianogo krizisa' (City, Trade and Monetary Circulation in the Period of the Hear East Known as the Silver Crisis, XI-XIII Centuries), "Materialy vtorogo sovieschehania arkheologov i etnografov sredniei Azii (Moscow/Leningrad, 1959); Kh. Mushegian, Op.cit., pp. 25-32.

in a long monograph; 119 has tried to offer a reasonable solution time problem. The question will be discussed in detail in the "Munismatic Background."

VII. GENERAL LITERATURE

Since scholarly studies have never treated these dynasties together, existing literature will be grouped by dynasty.

A. The Ilderizids

As a dynasty the Ildegizids are mentioned in the early histories of J. Deguignes 120 and G. Weil; 121 they are more extensively treated in Defrémery's translation of excerpts from the Ta'rīkh-i guzīda of Qazwīnī. 122 Lane-Poole

^{119&}quot;Back to Gold--and Silver, The Economic History
Review, Series II, XX/1 (1967), pp. 1-34, see esp. p. 2, nn.1
and 2 for bibliographical references on the problem.

Bistoire générale des Huns, des Turcs, des Mongols et autres Tartares Occidentaux - ouvrage tiré des livres chinois, 4 vols. (Paris, 1756-58); Turkish trans. H. Cahid, <u>Hunlarin</u>, türklerin mogullarin ve daha sair tatarlarin tarih-i umunisi, 4 vols. (Istanbul, 1924), see esp. III, pp. 307-446 and IV, pp. 433-441, reference from M. Bala, "il-deniz," IA.

¹²¹ Geschichte der Chalifen, 5 vols. (Mannheim/-Stuttgart, 1846-62), see esp. Vol. III.

^{122&}lt;sub>JA</sub>. (1847-48).

included their genealogy under the rubric the "Atabegs of Adharbījān" in his <u>Muhammadan Dynasties</u> and discussed their dynasty in a brief, but interesting paragraph. ¹²³ Barthold repeated the dynastic table in his Russian edition of Lane-Poole; ¹²⁴ The Turkish edition by Halil Edhem has a fuller account of the atabegs and a more detailed genealogy. ¹²⁵ E. de Zambaur's genealogy is identical to Edhem's, but with the addition of the numismatic and epigraphical data for each ruler. ¹²⁶

A more detailed discussion of some of the historical problems connected with the Ildegizids is presented by Th.

Houtsma in an article reviewing the Rahat al-sudur of alRawandI. 127 This is the first major attempt to compare

¹²³ Dynasty no.66, p. 171. The Kipchak origin of Shams al-Din Ildegiz is mentioned here.

¹²⁴ Musul manskie dinastii (St. Petersburg, 1899).

^{125 &}lt;u>Düvel-i islāmive</u> (Istanbul, 1927), pp. 208-216.

That is, if coins are known for any ruler they are marked with a circle, if inscription, with a rectangle; <u>Manuel</u>, dynasty No. 222, p. 231, the article by Bergmann referred to in the bibliography contains nothing on the Ildegizids.

^{127&}quot;Some Remarks on the History of the Seljuks,"
Acta Orientalia Hungarica, III (1925), pp. 136-152.

various sources on the events surrounding the relationship between the Seljuqs of Iraq and their atabegs. The first edition of the <u>Encyclopaedia of Islam</u> does not have an article devoted to the Ildegizids as a dynasty and the individual articles on Shams al-Dīn Ildegiz by Barthold and Muhammad Pahlavān and Qizl Arslān b. Ildegiz by K. Zetterstéen present little new material. However, the article "Marāgha" by Minorsky presents some interesting items on the relations of the later Ildegizids with the Ahmadīlīs. 129

the Ildegizids by K. Chaikin, unfortunately appeared in a somewhat obscure Soviet journal; 130 it is well informed and detailed. M. Bala's article "Il-Deniz" in the Turkish version of the Encyclopaedia of Islam, much more detailed than its counterpart in the EI1, contains little which is new The studies of H. Hasan and V. Minorsky also discuss the dynasty. 131 In recent years Asabayjani scholars have

^{128 &}quot;Ildegiz," "Pehlewan," "Kizil Arslan," EL1.

¹²⁹ See supra, "Introd.," n. 14.

¹³⁰ Musul manskie dinastii, pravivshie v Zakavkaz'i v XII-XIII vv.--Il'degizida (A Muslim Dynasty Ruling in Caucasia in the 12th to 13 Centuries-the Ildegizids), Khakani-Nezami-Rustaveli, I (Leningrad, 1935), pp. 21-38.

¹³¹ Hasan, Falaki, passim; Minorsky, Studies, pp. 92-100, see also idem, "Caucasica II," op.cit.

been most interested in the Ildegisids for obvious national interests. The multi-volumed <u>History of Adharbayian</u> has a brief section on them. 132 More recently R. Huseinov has a short chapter on the Ildegisids in his <u>Syriac Sources</u> concerning Adharbayian. 133

by way of analysis, comparison and interpretation of the sources, as well as a study of the relationship of the atabeg dynasty with their Seljuq overlords is a doctoral thesis by Kenneth A. Luther. 134 Unfortunately, the work stops with the death of Sultan Tughril b. Arslanshah in 590/1194. Finally, there is a genealogical table in the forthcoming fascicules of the Encyclopaedia of Islam for J. Boyle's article on the Ildegizids as well as the same author's section on the dynasty in the Cambridge History of Iran 136 and the History of the Ildegizid Atabes State

¹³² Istoriia Azerbaidzhana, eds. I. Guseinova and A. Sumbat-zade, Vol. I (Baku, 1958), pp. 142-144.

¹³³ Guseinov, Siriiskie istochniki ob Azerbaidzhane, (Baku, 1960), "Ob El'degezidakh (Concerning the Ildegizids)," pp. 119-127.

¹³⁴ The Political Transformation of the Seljuq Sultanate of Iraq and Western Iran: 1152-1187, Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, Princeton University (Princeton, 1964). Luther develops the idea of a dyarchy of rule between the Ildezizids and the Seljugs of Iraq first proposed by Sanaullah, Decline, p. 7, see quotation infra, "Chap. II," n. 61.

¹³⁵ A Chronological and Genealogical Handbook (London, 1967)
136 In volume V, forthcoming.

promised by Z. Buniistoy 137

B. The Bishkinid Maliks of Ahar

Beside the numismatic literature already discussed the historical literature on this dynasty is confined to two articles. The first by I. Petrushevskii is almost unknown; 138 it presents the theory of the Georgian origin of the Bishkinids with all the essential facts about its two most important members, Bishkin b. Muhammad and his son Mahmud, with citations from qaswini, Masawi and the few other sources in which they are mentioned. Minorsky, in a more detailed article, 139 discussed much the same material and in much the same way. It is curious that he did not cite Petrushevskii's article; one cannot imagine that it missed the great scholar's attention. Zambaur

¹³⁷ See supra, n.115.

¹³⁸ Beshkenidy-Pishtegenidy, gruzinskie melikhi Akhara v XII-nach. XIII vv. (Beshkenids-Pishtegenids, the Georgian Maliks of Ahar in 12th beginning of the 13th Centuries), "Material's po istorii Grusii i Kavkaza, fascicule 7 (1937), pp. 585-593.

^{139&}quot;Caucasica II. 1. The Georgian maliks of Ahar," BSOAS, XIII/4 (1951), pp. 868-874.

lists the two rulers of the dynasty mentioned above who struck coins, but with no details. He Besides this there is nothing, but since the town and territory of Ahar still exist in Iran, perhaps some modern Persian scholar will pursue their history.

C. The Shirvanshahs

Though the source material on the Shirvanshahs for our period is poorer than for the Ildegizids, the literature is considerably greater. The reasons for this phenomenon are the continuous use of the title Shirvanshah by collateral branches of the dynasty extending beyond our period into modern times, and, the mere duration of the early Shirvanshahs from the 3rd/9th to the 7th/l3th centuries. The preliminary history of the dynasty was published by B. Dorn in 18%1; 141 it was based primarily on late sources (9th/15th, 10th/16th centuries), inscriptional material, and some court poets. The use of the term Kasranid for the 6th/12th-7th/13th century Shirvanshahsis from Chaffari's Ishan-ara adoption, where Minuchihr (II) is referred to as b. Kasran. 142

¹⁴⁰ Manuel, dynasty no. 184, p. 194.

¹⁴¹⁴¹ Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kaukasischen Länder und Völkeker aus Morgenländischen Quellen, I. "Versuch ein Geschichte des Schirwanschahe," Mémoires de l'Acad. Imp. des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg, Series VI, Vol. IV (1840), pp. 532-602; see especially pp. 550-563 for our period and p. 555 for the dynastic list.

¹⁴² Dorn, Versuch, p. 550, Ghaffari was IVI century;

This questionable usage from a late source has been followed blindly into our own time. N.I. Khanykov, using more inscriptional material and especially the court poets, refined Dorn's genealogical schema, 143 while K. Salemann's work on Khaqani was helpful in clearing up more of the historical confusion. Lane-Poole did not include the Shirvanshahs in his Mohammadan Dynasties, which did both F. Justi in his Iranisches Namenbuch 145 and Barthold in his augmented Russian edition of Lane-Poole 146 did.

Zambaur gives much the same dynastic list as his 19th century predecessors with the usual additional indication

he was used by Münejjim-bashi (10th/16th century). The text is reproduced by Minorsky, Sharvan, pp. 27-28, trans. p. 129. For details on these early sources see Pakhomov, Excursus, pp. 26-27, and "Chapter I," supra, section I A.

¹⁴³ Lettre & M. Dorn, Mél. asiat., III (1857), pp. 114-137; see also idem, Mémoire sur Khácáni, JA, (1863), pp. 137-200, (1865), pp. 266-267. Fuller details on the works of Khanykov and the poet Kháqaní will be found in Minorsky, "Kháqaní and Andronicus Comnenus," BSOAS, XI/3 (1945), pp. 550-578, reprinted in idem, Tranica, (London/Tehran, 1964), pp. 120-150.

Oustrains of Khaqani) (St. Petersburg, 1875), see pp. 13-14 for earlier bibliography.

^{145 (}Marbourg, 1895), p. 454, early part of dynasty only.

Musul manskie dinastii, p. 295. See also Sachau, Ein Verzeichnis Muhammedanischen Dynastien (Berlin, 1923), Nos. 18 and 19.

of the numismatic and inscriptional evidence. 147

The task of sorting out the genealogical mess in the Shirvanshahs' dynasty for the 5th/llth-7th/l3th centuries was left to Pakhomov; his Excursus, 148 relying heavily on newly discovered numismatic evidence, but at the same time reexamining the work of predecessors, solved most of the problems in the chronology and succession of rulers. Six years later in 1929, Hadi Hasan made use of the Excursus and other numismatic material supplied by R.R. Vasmer from the Hermitage Museum collection, for his study on the Shirvani poet Falaki. This study and its two supplements 150 have utilized all the diwans of the time as

¹⁴⁷ Manuel, dynasty no.167, "Khaqanides" (after a title of Minuchihr, see <u>supra</u>, "Sources," n.46), "Première Race, Kesranides," p. 182.

¹⁴⁸ For full reference see supra, n.107.

¹⁴⁹ Falaki, p. 40, n.3.

¹⁵⁰ For the original study see supra, n,48; idem, "Muhammad Falakī-i-Shirwānī and His Unique Diwan in Madras," Islamic Culture, April (1950), pp. 77-107; idem, July (1950), pp. 145-186.

well as later authorities like Dawlatshāh¹⁵¹ to establish the facts of the poets life and the historical events effecting the court of the Shirvanshāhs in the 6th/12th century. 152

A full length Turkish study, based mostly on secondary Russian source material, by Z. Cihangir appeared in 1931; 153 it is a popular work with little that is new and much which is old and wrong. The article "Shīrwān-shāh" in the Encyclopaedia of Islam by Barthold 154 is

¹⁵¹ See supra, n.52.

difficult to check single items; it also lacks a bibliography and not all works are fully cited in the notes. Errors in the original study (to be discussed in the introduction to the corpus) have been corrected in the supplementary articles. Hasan has gone through most of the Russian literature as well as Brosset's trans. of the Georgian Royal Annals (see supra, n.60) to confirm the historical material contained in the divans of Falaki and Khaqani. His article "Falaki Shirwani," El, repeats in a shorter form his original study, including the mistakes, e.g. the death of Minuchihr II, which he partially corrected in his first supplementary article.

Sirvensehlar yurdu, vaktile Albania, Arran ve Sirven dive anilan "Kafkas Azerbaycani" nin tarihçesidir (The Land (Settlement) of the Shirvensheh, being a Short History of Caucasian Adharbayian, Known in the Past as Shirven, Errin and Albania) (Istanbul, 1931); see pages 87-109 for the "Kesraniler Hanedani."

¹⁵⁴ EI, English ed., III, pp. 383-385; the complementary article "Shīrwān" by Barthold ignores our period.

extremely detailed on the 5th/llth-7th/l3th century Shirvan-shahs (the socalled Kasranids); he utilizes the earlier studies of Dorn, Khanykov, and Pakhomov, but brings fresh details from the sources. Minorsky devotes a very interesting passage to a commentary on the section in the anonymous 4th/loth century geography Rudud al-Calam about Shirvan; 155 his main secondary sources are Dorn, Pakhomov and A.Z. Validi (Togan). 156 The study is most useful for the location of certain areas within Shirvan and the rest of Caucasia and also for the vocalization of proper names. Minorsky also reviewed most of the literature, emphasizing the literary research of Hasan and the numismatic work of Pakhomov, in Annex I of his Sharvan and Darband; 157 in addition to reproducing and translating Münejjim-bashī's

^{155&}lt;sub>Op.cit.</sub>, pp. 403-411.

¹⁵⁶ Azerbaycanin tarihi cografyasi, Azer Yurt
Bilgisi (Istanbul, 1932), No.1, pp. 35-48, No.2, pp. 1-15,
No.3, pp. 132-132, No. 4, pp. 145-156; also idem, "Azerbaycan etnografisine dair," ibid., No.14 (1933), pp. 49-56; ci.,
Minorsky, Budud al-Cilam. p. 393.

¹⁵⁷pp. 129-138. The new dynastic element discovered by Pakhomov, "Shirvanshakh Shakhanshakh (The Shirvanshah Shahinshah)," Iz. Azer. Arkheologicheskogo Komiteta (Baku, 1925), pp. 69-70, is included in Minorksy's study.

section of the later Shirvanshahs, he provided a commentary which reproduced Pakhomov's revised genealogy for the 5th/llth-7th/l3th century rulers.

Recently Azerbayjani scholars have produced a host of studies, monographs and books, which directly or indirectly deal with the Shirvanshahs. The more important are Abdul-Kerim Ali-Zade's Social-Economic and Political History of Adharbayian: 12th-13th Centuries 158 and Z.M. Buniiatov's "Some Additions to the Genealogy of the Shirvanshah-Kesranids." The later work revises the dynastic table of Pakhomov by the addition of two new "Shirvanshahs" for the early 7th/13th century. Other articles will be cited as used and in the bibliography.

D. The Maliks of Darband

As a result of the late identification of this dynasty, there is only a single monograph devoted to it, E.A. Pakhomov's "On the Principality of Darband." The

¹⁵⁸ sotzial*no-ékonomicheskaja i politicheskaja istorii: Azerbajdzhana XIII-XIV vv. (Baku, 1956), see esp. pp. 351-399.

¹⁵⁹ Mekotorye dopolneniia k genealogii Shirvanshakhov-Kesranidov, Iz. Akad. Azer. SSR. no.6 (Baku, 1965), pp.47-52. For additional general information see Istoriia Azer, op.cit., I, pp. 128-172, the bibliography; and bibliography in Ali-Zade, supra.

¹⁶⁰ See reference, supra, n.96.

article, based primarily on numismatic evidence, established these maliks as rulers of al-Bab (Darband), rather than "Seljuqs of Adharbayjan" lollor "Maliks of Karabagh." lo2 Minorsky devotes Annex II of his Sharvan to these maliks, essentially summarizing Pakhomov's work, but making a valuable addition by way of a reference to them by Ibn al-Azraq FariqI, lo3 which he translates in Annex V. lo4.

Prior to these studies H. Hasan in his work on Falaki 165 had already given a few details of relations between these maliks and the Kingdom of Georgia and the Shirvanshahs. Barthold's article "Derbend" in EI1, though ignorant of the dynasty qua dynasty, contains interesting details on events in Darband toward the end of the 6th/12th century. Minorsky's earlier article on Khaqani and Andronicus Commenus also has some details on the rulers of

¹⁶¹ Soret, supra, n.97; Markov, Inventarnyt, pp. 390-391.

¹⁶²Bartholomaei, supra, n.96; Zambaur, Manuel, dynasty No.183, p. 194.

¹⁶³ For FariqI see supra, n.34; Minorsky, Shervan, "Postscript on Darband," pp. 139-141.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., "Ibn alazraq"s Visit to Darband in 549/1154," pp. 170-172.

¹⁶⁵ Falaki-i-Shirwani, p. 1 and passim.

Darband at the time of the invasion of the Rus in the same 6th/12th century. 166 There are minor references in the articles of Khanykov and Chaikin already cited. 167 Other passing references to these dynasties, ever so few, will be given as used and in the bibliography.

In summary, then, the sources are wanting. There is no single source dealing in a comprehensive way with any of the dynasties in this work for the 6th/12th-7th/13th century. In general, except for the Ildegizids, the sources offer no narratives, only scattered bits of information and fragmentary, vague allusions to individual rulers. The Ildegizids are better treated because of their close relation to an eventual domination over their Seljuq overlords. The history of all these dynasties must be pieced together from diverse literary, epigraphical and numismatic sources.

As for the literature, the situation is about the same. Not one of the dynasties in this work is as yet graced with a history, though the four main ones have at

¹⁶⁶⁰p.cit., supra, n.48, see especially, reprint, pp. 128-129.

¹⁶⁷Khanykov, "Inscriptions musulmanes," op.cit., (supra, n. 83), p. 140; Chaikin, op.cit. (supra, n.130), passim.

least one short monograph written about them. But unfortunately, not only are these studies almost exclusively in Russian and in Soviet journals extremely inaccessible to western scholar, but most of them are now dated due to new numismatic, epigraphal and even textual material which has become available.

Through their coins two of the dynasties, the Maliks of Darband and the Bishkinid Maliks of Ahar, were made known to Islamic history; the unidentified vassal of the Ildegizids is of course in this same category. However, the numismatic scholarship, even some of the work of E.A. Pakhomov, needs revision and correction. As yet no scientific corpus of coins has been prepared for any of these dynasties, though Pakhomov's monographs on the Maliks of Darband and Shirvanshahs of the 5th/llth-7th/l3th centuries were good preliminary studies in the right direction.

Thus far, except for Vladimir Minorsky, 168 only Soviet, i.e., Azerbayjani, Armenian and Georgian, scholars have been concerned about the economy and history, therefore the coinage, of this area. Certain fundamental defects

¹⁶⁸⁰f course even Minorsky was of Russian origin and traveled extensively in Caucasia and Adharbayjan while working in the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, serving in Persia from 1908 to 1912.

primarily interested in the past events of their own
Republic, they ignore contemporary events in neighboring
areas, resulting in a very parochial kind of history.
Secondly, the economic interpretation of facts is almost
exclusively made in Marxian terms, which are not always
the most valid or the best. On the other hand the work
of these regional scholars is very careful and indeed
thorough; excavations are abundant, complete and well
reported.

The situation outside of Soviet Caucasia is much worse. Due to a lack of funds and an over-abundance of historical sites and monuments from other periods, there has been no concentrated Turkish or Iranian archeological work in the area. For the Ildegizids and their vassal dynasties there is a crucial need to determine if systematic excavation will not uncover fresh and startlingly new (especially numismatic) material. The numismatic history of the area is now based exclusively on the intensive work done by Soviet scholars in the area of southeastern Caucasia and Adharbayjan north of the Araxes and Eur Rivers, which serve as the geographical boundaries between present day Iran and Turkey and the Soviet Union, i.e., the Republics of Azerbayjan, Armenia and Georgia.

Ideally, what needs to be done is the following: excavation of such medieval cities as Ahar, Maragha, Hamadan and Salmas in Iran and Akhlat and again Ani in Turkey; a reexamination of all the source material of the 5th/llth-7th/l3th and even later centuries viewing the area and its Islamic dynasties as a unit; finally, the compilation of a corpus of all inscriptional and especially numismatic data from the area.

This thesis attempts to fulfil the last of these requirements by presenting a systematic and scientific corpus of all known monetary issues of these dynasties. Although it is still too early to write a comprehensive history or histories on the basis of the evidence at hand, this work will also try to illuminate selected historical questions from the positive facts contained on these coins. In a much less complete fashion it will also discuss in a general way questions of monetary circulation and the social and economic history of southeastern Caucasia and Adharbayjan during the 5th/llth-7th/l3th centuries.

The following chapter will be devoted to an historical and numismatic background to serve as a frame work and reference for the corpus.

CHAPTER TWO

THE HISTORICAL AND NUMISMATIC BACKGROUND

1. THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The following survey of the political events in the 5th/llth-7th/l3th century Middle East will emphasize factors which had an effect on the history of southeastern Caucasia and Adharbayjan during this period.

A. The Pre-Seljug Period

The Caucasus takes its name from a high and forbidding mountain range which runs diagonally from the Cimmerian Bosphorus on the Azov Sea to the Baku Peninsula on the Caspian Sea, effectively cutting off the Middle East, especially the adjacent areas of eastern Anatolia, Armenia, Adharbayjān and Iran, from the southern steppes of Russia. Its difficult terrain has not only isolated it from the neighbouring regions, but has also created numerous small ethnic and national units. It is therefore, a region of numerous languages and diverse customs and religions. The area, which had been Christianized very early, became a buffer zone between the contending Roman and Sasanian Empires. It was composed of the three major units, from the northeast to the southwest: Georgia, Armenia and Caucasian

Albania: (Arm. Aluanki).1

In the 1st/7th century the Islamic Arab Empire destroyed the Sasamians and replaced them in Caucasia. For the next three centuries Caucasia was contested by the Byzantines and the Arabs, the latter in control of the southeastern part. During the period of Arab domination Albania became known as Arran and later separated into Arran, Shirvan and Muqan; Adharbayjan designated an area south of the Araxes River. The period to the 3rd/9th century was characterized by a political status quo in southeastern Caucasia; the area was administered by

For the whole period see the works of Cyril Soumanoff, "Christian Caucasia between Byzantium and Iran: New Light from Old Sources," Tradition, X (1954); for the social and feudal organization of the area, idem, "Introd. to Christian Caucasian History: The Formative Centuries (Ivth-VIIth)," op.cit., supra, "Introd.," no.1, and Part II, "States and Dynasties of the Formative Period," Traditio, XVII (1961), pp. 1-106; and now the major study, idem, Studies in Christian Caucasian History (Washington: Georgetown University Press, 1963).

²A general survey of events can be found in R. Grousset, <u>Histoire de l'Arménie des origines à 1071</u> (Paris, 1947); for a more specific study, J. Laurent, <u>L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam depuis la conquête arabe jusqu'en 886 (Paris, 1919); Y. (M.) Manandyan, The Arab Invasions of Armenia (Chronological Botes), in Arm., (Brevan, 1932), Fr. trans., H. Berberian, "Les invasions arabes etc.,".

Byzantion, IVIII (1948), pp. 163-195.</u>

amīrs appointed by the caliph. The Arabs were in a continual state of hostilities with the Byzantine Empire, while at the same time engaged in a series of bitter wars with the Khasars to the north, who for much of this period were allies of the Byzantines.

In the 3rd/9th century the long process of the political disintegration of the Abbasic caliphate began.

³For a list of these governors see, Zambaur, Manuel, pp. 177-179; R. Vasmer, Chronologie der arabischen Statthalt-ervon Armenien unter den Abbasiden...750-887 (Vienna, 1931), based on numismatic evidence, but to be supplemented now by E.A. Pakhomov, Monety Azerbaizhana, I and II (Baku, 1959, 1963).

See the special study by A.A. Vasiliev, Byzance et les Arabes, Fr. Trans. H. Grégoire, M. Canard and others, I. La Dynastie d'Amorium (820-867) (Brussels:, 1935), II. La Dynastie Macédonienne (867-959), Part I (announced, 1966), Part II (Brussels, 1936), III. A. Honigmann, Die Ostgrenze des Byzantinischen Reiches von 363 bis 1081 (Brussels, 1950).

Ja people believed by some Turkologist to be of Turkic (i.e., Kipchak, supra, "Introd.," n.17) origin who toward the end of the 6th century A.D. began occupying the area north of the Caucasus, the Black and Caspian Sea, forming a commercial empire which firmly controlled this area to the 4th/loth century; the ruling nobility adopted Judaism. See T. Halasi-Kun, "The Caucasus, An Ethno-Historical Survey," Studia Caucasica, I (1963), pp. 12-21, and the general works, D.M. Dunlop, The History of the Jewish Khazara (Princeton, 1954), and more recently, M.I. Artamonov, Istoria Khazar (The History of the Khazars), (Leningrad, 1962).

As the Turkic slave bodyguard started assuming control of the functions of the caliphate, Iranian elements achieved de facto autonomy in southeastern Iran, Khorasan and Transoxiana—the Tahirids (205/821-259/873);, the Saffarids (253/867-290/903), and the Samanids (261/875-389/999). At the same time in southeastern Caucasia and Adharbayjan, the weakening of Arab rule resulted in the semi-independent rule of the Sajid governors, Muhammad Afshin and his brother Tusuf (276/889-318/930), from Shirvan to Maragha; while in central and northwestern Caucasia, there began a revival

See supra, "Introd.," n.30.

⁷See now, C.E. Bosworth, Sistan under the Arabs, from the Islamic Conquest to the Rise of the Saffarids (30-250/651-864) (Rome, 1968), pp. 102-107; also Zambaur, Manuel, dynasty No.187, pp. 197-198.

⁸T. Möldeke, "Yakub the Coppersmith and his dynasty," Sketches from Eastern History, trans. J.S. Black (Edinburgh, 1892, reprint Beirut, 1963), pp. 176-206; but now Bosworth, 1bid., pp. 109-123; Zambaur, No.189, pp. 199-201.

W. Barthold, Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasions (London, 1958 [2nd revised ed.]), pp. 209-268; more recently R.N. Frye, Bukhara. The Medieval Achievement, (Norman, 1965).

^{10&}lt;sub>V</sub>. Minorsky, Studies, pp. 118-120; see also C. Huart, "SEdjids," Ell and IA; Zambaur, No.163, p. 179.

of Armenian independence under the native Bagratid house. 11
By the 4th/10th century an expansionist movement of Iranian elements in the Caspian provinces of Daylam and Glan under the leadership of the family of Buya (thus Buyid) pushed into central Iran, north Mesopotamia and al-Jibal, finally seizing Baghdad in 334/945. 12 This Samanid domination in Khorasan and the east and Buyid control of the heartlands of the caliphate has been termed the Iranian Intermezzon by V. Minorsky. 13

On the rise of the Bagratids see the sections in Grousset, op.cit.; W.B.D. Allen, A History of the Georgian Beople (London, 1932); Toumanoff, Studies; J. Markwart, Osteurophische und ostasiatische Streifzüge (Leipzig, 1903, reprint 1961), pp. 391-465 Arm. trans. of this section, M. Hapozean (Vienna, 1913), is corrected and augmented; for a special study see, C. Toumanoff, "The Early Bagratids: Remarks in Connexion with Some Recent Publications," Le Muséon, LXII (1949), pp. 21-54.

The Buyids were Shi I, but during their whole domination of the caliphate, to last until 447/1055, they never once tried to change the Sunni Cabbasid Caliph for a Shi Caliph. Eventually, in the early 5th/11th century they lost control of all eastern and central Iran, having fallen under the power of their own Turkic slave army; for an excellent discussion, Cahen, "Buyids, Buwayhids," Election of the state
¹³See supra, "Introd.," n.31, By "Intermezzo"
Minorsky means the period between the Arab control of the
Middle East, and the Turkic, i.e., Seljuq, control after
447/1055. It should be remembered, however, that the
Cabbasid caliphate had already fallen into Turkic hands a
full century before the Buyid capture of Baghdad. Therefore,
the "Intermezzo" is more properly an interlude between two
Turkic movements, see supra, n.12, and "Introd.," n.31.

In this period, the 4th/10th century, the Armenian Bagratids achieved independence, controlling Ani, Kars, Lori and Dvin, while another princely family, the Armin, created a small kingdom around Vaspurakan (Van). The areas to the west and southwest of the Caucasus remained in Bysantine hands. Already in the previous century the Arabs appointed governors of Shirvan, the Yasīdid, if and of Darband (al-Bāb), the Arab Hashimids, had shown signs

¹⁴ See Grousset, and for the history of the family, Towns (Thomas) Arcruni, Patmut'iwn tann Arcrunese (History of the Arcruni House) (Constantinople, 1852), trans., M.F. Brosset, Histoire des Ardsrouni, Collection des Historiens Arméniens, Vol. I (St. Petersburg, 1874).

¹⁵ After Yazid b. Mazyad...b.Shayban al-Shaybani (probably a client [mayali] attached to the Shaybani tribe) appointed governor of Armenia, Adharbayjan. Shirvan and al-Bab definitively in 183/799 by Harun al-Rashid (He had already been governor of Armenia, dismissed by Harun in 172/788). See the Ta'rikh al-Bab, Minorsky, Sharvan, text, p. 1, trans., p. 22; see Minorsky's comments and cross references, p. 56. This dynasty is of course one and the same as the Shirvanshahs, a title first taken by Haytham b. Khalid b. Yazid after 247/861, Ta'rikh al-Bab, p. 4, trans. 26; it is the first part of the 5th/lith-7th/l3th century Shirvanshahs and not another branch, as traditionally and erroneously thought, see supra, "Chap. I," n.142; Zambaur, No.166, pp. 181-182.

léafter Hashim b. Suraqa al-Sulami who was appointed governor (amir) of Darband (al-Bab) in 255/869, Ta'rikh al-Bab, p. 16, trans., p. 41; according to the same source the dynasty comes to an end in 470/1077, when Darband was given as fief to one of the Seljuq generals, ibid., and p. 27, trans., p. 55. However, about fifty years later when the Maliks of Darband are the rulers of al-Bab, there seems to be a link to the earlier Hashimids by the use of the name [nisba] al-Sulami, see infra, Introd. to the Darband Maliks' corpus; also Zambaur, No.172 "Banu-Hashim," pp. 185-186.

of self-determination. Under the Sajids, mentioned above, an attempt was made to keep the area united and under the nominal control of the Cabbasids; however, with the death of Yusuf in 315/928, "the Yazīdids and the Hashimids restored their de facto independence." It was then that the Sallarids (also referred to as Musafirids), an Iranian tribe from Daylam seized control of Adharbayjan. "Under Marzuban b. Muhammad b. Musafir, surnamed Sallar (330-46/941-57) the Musafirids expanded not only over the whole of Azarbayjan and up the Araxes valley, but even into the eastern part of Transcaucasia (Arran, Sharvan) and up to the Caucasian range. Both the Armenian royal houses, the Bagratids and the Artsrumi were their tributaries."

Sallarid rule was short lived. In 360/970 the Kurdish Shaddadids 19 took Arran from the Musafirid branch of the family, leaving southeastern Caucasia and Adharbayjan partitioned into three autonomous Muslim principalities: 20

¹⁷ Minorsky, Sharvan, p. 19.

¹⁸ Idem, Studies, p. 114.

¹⁹ For whom see supra, "Introd.," nn. 12 and 15.

²⁰ Minorsky, Sharvan, p. 20.

the Arab Hashimids of Darband, ²¹ the Arab Yazīdids of Shirvan, ²² and the Kurdish Shaddādids of Arran (Ganja and Dvin). To the northwest Tiflis by the mid-4th/loth century was in the firm control of the Arab Ja cfarid amīrs; ²³ it remained under their control until 454/1062 when the citizens of the city threw them out. ²⁴ At about the same time in 345/956 the Rawwadī Kurds took possession of Tabrīz and by 373/983 allof Adharbayjān; ²⁶ they retained control of

²¹ Minorsky, <u>ibid</u>., points out they became mixed with local Dagestani (the people around and north of Darband) influences and interests.

The Shirvanshahs were to gradually become integrated into the local Iranian tradition; see <u>supra</u>, "Introd.," n.22, and Minorsky, <u>ibid</u>.

²³After Jacfar b. Call, who already in 300/912 is mentioned as a lieutenant of the Cabbasids in Tiflis; see David M. Lang, Studies in the Munismatic History of Georgia in Transcaucasia, AMS (New York, 1955), p.13 ff.

²⁴Ibn al-Azraq Fariql, <u>Ta'rlkh Mayyafariqln</u>, passage trans. by Minorsky, "Caucasia in the History of Mayyafariqin," op.cit., p. 31; cf. Lang, <u>ibid.</u>, p. 16.

²⁵Münejjim-bashi, using the <u>Ta'rikh al-Bab</u>, regards them as a tribe named after their first ruler, Muhammad b. Husayn al-Rawwādī (Minorsky, <u>Studies</u>, p. 167), but Minorsky himself (quoting S.A. Kasravi, <u>Shahriyaran</u> (?) [<u>Padshāhan-i mum-nām</u>], Vol. II (Tehran, 1929), p. 157) connects them with Rawwad al-Azdī and his family, who were 3rd/9th century rulers of Tabriz; <u>Studies</u>, p. 169.

²⁶ Studies (trans. by Minorsky of Münejjim-Bashi), p. 167.

the area until Sultan Alp Arslan arrested their last ruler and his children in 463/1073.27

In the years just prior to the Seljuq invasions, the great rival of the caliphate, 28 the Byzantine Empire, attempted to regain long lost territories by an eastern expansionist policy. By various means all the Armenian principalities, including the Bagratid and Arcruni, had been absorbed by the 430's/1040's.²⁹ However, the Georgians retained their newly acquired independence under another branch of the Bagratid house and began establishing a powerful kingdom in western Caucasia.³⁰ On the Muslim side, the Cabbasid caliphate under very much weakened, ineffectual Büyid control exerted only minimal and token authority in southeastern Caucasia and Adharbayjan. Tiflis

²⁷ Studies, p. 169, Minorsky's trans. The family did not die out, but was to continue as rulers of Maragha until the early 7th/13th century, ibid., see also supra, "Introd.," n.14.

²⁸ of course the "great rival of the Abbasid caliph was the Shici Fatimid caliph in Cairo (358/969-567/1171), but the Fatimids do not effect the events in this study.

²⁹ The classic study has been J. Laurent, Byzance et les Turcs seldjoucides dans l'Asie occidentale jusqu'en 1081 (Mancy, 1913), which is based primarily on Byzantine and Armenian (in translation) sources, See now C. Toumanoff's article in Vol. IV part I of the Cambridge Medieval History, 2nd ed. (London, 1962), chap. XIV; and more recently, idem.

"The Background to Mantzikert," Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Oxford, 5-10 September, 1966 (London, 1967), pp. 14-16 of offprint.

³⁰ For general background Allen, op.cit., Chap. VII;

A. Manvelichvili, <u>Histoire de Géorgie</u> (Paris, 1951), Chap. V,
pp. 145-161.

was in the process of ridding herself of her Arab amīrs.

Darband, Shirvān and Arrān remained under the control of local dynasties, the Arab Hāshimids, Shirvānshāhs (Yazīdids), and Kurdish Shaddādids respectively. Adharbayjān was under Kurdish Rawwādī rule. The stage was set for the Seljuq invasion and the short lived political unification which came with it. In less than half a century this unification of the area as well as the rest of the Middle East once again disintegrated in to many small autonomous feudal units.

B. The Seling Conquest

As we have seen the Turkic penetration of the Islamic Middle East dates back at least to the caliphal bodyguard of the 3rd/9th century. In the same century generals from that Turkic army had seized semi-autonomous power in outlying areas of the caliphate. By the end of the 4th/10th century

³¹ Supra, no.6, and "Introd.," n.30.

his post in Egypt, thus beginning the Tulunid dynasty which was to continue until 283/896; see B. Spuler, The Muslim World, Part I, The Age of the Caliphs, trans. F. Bagley (Leiden, 1960), p. 69; for a capsule history. Shortly after, in 323/935 another Turkic governor of Egypt, Muhammad ibn Tughj, assumed autonomous power and was confirmed by the caliph at Baghdad with the ancient central Asian title ikhshid, hence giving rise to the so-called Ikhshidid dynasty which ruled Egypt until the arrival of the Fatimids in 358/969; see ibid., p. 71 for brief details. Cf., Cahen Pre-Ottoman Turkey, pp. 6-7.

the Turkic Ghaznavids³³ had taken power from their Samanid overlords³⁴ and established a strong dynastic state in Khorasan and Transoxiana. But they in turn were soon replaced, at least in Khorasan and Transoxiana by the Oghus Turkic Seljuqs³⁵ after the decisive battle of Dandanqan in Khorasan in 432/1040.³⁶

Already prior to this important battle, large groups of Oghuz Turkoman³⁷ had penetrated into the Middle East often settling in Adharbayjan. The Byzantine frontier in recently acquired Armenia was especially harrassed, being the border between the lands of Islam and the infidels

³³Sebuktigin and his son Mahmud were hired by the Persian Samanid to ward off the growing Qara-Khanid danger (q.v. supra, "Chap. I", n.l); in time they dislodged their masters and seized the lands south of the Oxus River. Their name comes from their capital city of Chasah in present day Afghanistan; see now C.E. Bosworth, The Chaznavids (London, 1963).

³⁴⁰n the Samanids, see supra, n.9.

³⁵⁰n the origins of the Seljuqs see C. Cahen, "Le Maliknameh et l'histoire des origines seljukides," Oriens, II/1 (1949), pp. 31-65, and, idem, Pre-Ottoman Turkey, pp. 19-22.

³⁶The Ghaznavids moved into the Indus Valley area where they continued to rule until the late 6th/12th century, As to the Turkicness of there state see Cahen's recent remarks, Pre-Ottoman Turkey, pp. 9-11.

³⁷see supra, "Introd.," n.20.

by groups of Oghus Turks, who prior to the early raiding parties officially organized and directed by the Seljuqs, made their own sorties to acquire quick booty. These Turkomans, to be found in large numbers in Adharbayjan, lived in a tribal nomadic fashion without political power, often even after their Seljuq brothers firmly subdued the area.

In 447/1055 Tughril Beg marched peacefully into Baghdad and received the title <u>sultan</u>. His nephew and successor Alp Arslan (455/1063-465/1072) captured Ani from the Byzantines in 456/1064 and two years later the Seljuqs entered Shirvan. HI In 460/1067-8 Georgia came under Seljuq control and shortly after in 463/1071 the Byzantine army

³⁹C. Cahen, "La première pénétration turque en Asie Mineure," <u>Byzantion</u>, XVIII (1948), pp. 5-67; I. Kafesoglu "Dogu Anadolu'ya ilk Selcuklu akini (1015-1021) ve tarihi ehemmiyeti (The First Seljuq Raid on Eastern Anatolia (1015-1021) and Its Historical Importance)," <u>Fued Köprülü Armagani</u> (Istanbul, 1953), pp. 259-274; most recently, F. Sümer, "The Turks in Eastern Asia Minor in the Eleventh Century," <u>XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies</u>, op.cit., offprint, pp. 141-143; now Cahen, <u>Pre-Ottoman Turkey</u>, p. 27.

⁴⁰ A title in use before, e.g., Ghaznavids, but officially conferred for the first time; it granted the fullest secular powers of the state; Cahen, <u>ibid.</u>, p. 24; Spuler, <u>ibid.</u>, p. 79. The sequel to this story is that when Tughril Beg had to leave Baghdad to tend to an internal revolt, Basasiri, the Turkic commander of the Shicite Buyid army, returned with Fatimid support, seized Baghdad and for one year had the <u>khuttah</u> read in Fatimid Caliph's name; in the next year 450/1059 Tughril retook the city; see M. Canard, "Basasiri," El.

⁴¹ rairīkh al-Bab, Minorsky, Sharvan, text, p. 12, trans., p. 20.

was completely defeated by Alp Arslan at Manzikert, leaving Christian elements in Caucasia isolated from outside help. The Seljuqs consolidated their hold on the whole area by appointing their military commanders, whether Seljuq, other Oghus Turkoman, or even Kiptchak Turks, as governors in the various occupied areas. 42

By 485/1092, the death of Malikshah, son and successor of Alp Arslan and the last undisputed Great Seljuq Sultan, the situation in southeastern Caucasia and Adharbayjan was broadly as follows. Shirvan was still in the hands of the local Yazīdīd Shirvanshahs, who had given allegiance and tribute to Alp Arslan and Malikshah. The situation in Darband was not so clear. In 468/1075 it was given by Alp Arslan to one of his closest generals, Sau-tegin, as fief, which put a temporary step to the long ambition of Shirvan to annex it. We do not know how long he or other Seljuq appointees governed there, but by about 530/1136, local dynastic elements, claiming descent from the Hashimids, were

⁴²⁰n the whole period see C. Cahen, "The Turkish Invasions: the Selchukids," in K. Setton ed., A History of the Crusades, Vol. I (Philadelphia, 1955), pp. 135-176.

⁴³ Ta rikh al-Bab, text, p. 14, trans., p. 38.

Minorsky, Sharvan, p. 74; and text, p. 27, trans., p. 55.

once again in control and striking coins. 45 Georgia eventually overcame the effects of the Seljuq invasion and under King David the Builder (482/1089-519/1125) some victories were won against the Turks. By 516/1122 Tiflis was regained and the Georgians were to remain the only non-Muslim power to maintain independence in the area. 46 Arran, including Ganja, was lost by the Shadaddids to the same Seljuq amīr Sau-tegīn mentioned above. 47 Shortly after it was granted to Muhammad b. Malikshāh as a fief by his brother Barkiyārūq. 48 In 500/1106 Ganja was at least temporarily in Shirvānshāh hands. 49 The Shadāddids however, did not fade out after their loss of Ganja; a branch of the family bought Ani from the Seljuqs in 465/1072 and kept it despite occasional Georgian occupation for about 120 years. 50 Adharbayjān was also

⁴⁵ See supra, n.16; cf. Minorsky, ibid., p. 139.

⁴⁶ For general references see Allen, op.cit., Chap. VIII, and Lang, op.cit., p. 20.

⁴⁷ Ta Frikh al-Bab, in Minorsky, Studies, text, p. 17, trans., p. 24.

⁴⁸ Barthold/A.J. Boyle, "Gandja" EI2; actually in 486/1093 according to Ibn al-Athir, X, 194, as cited by Minorsky, Studies, p. 67, n.4. See also C. Cahen, "Barkyaruk," EI2.

⁴⁹ According to Mas dd b. Mandar, V. Minorsky and C. Cahen, "Le Becueil Transcaucasien de Mas std b. Mandar," op.cit., p. 120.

⁵⁰ See reference under supra, "Introd.," n.13.

completely in Turkic hands, generals and guardians of Seljuq princes ruling in various areas. By the early 6th/12th century shams al-Din Ildegiz was in control of the northern part, while the Ahmadili the southern, resident at Maragha. The area around Ahar was presumably in the hands of the Bishkinids. 51

C. Fragmentation and Dissolution of the Great Seljuq Empire

Mulk in the same year 485/1092, the unity of the Seljuq Empire began its rapid disintegration. The wife of Malikshah supported her own younger son Mahmud, while followers of Misam rallied around the sultan's eldest son by a previous marriage, Barkiyaruq. The latter finally won the struggle, but his reign was marred by hostilities among the various amirs of the empire. Upon Barkiyaruq's death in 498/1105 his infant son Malikshah II reigned for a few months, but was replaced by Muhammad b. Malikshah, who restored some order in the affairs of state in an attempt to reunify under a single central administration all Seljuq lands. However, his death in 511/1117 brought an end to solidifying endeavours and led to a division of the central

⁵¹ General references will be found in the introductions to the relevant corpora and a fuller discussion infra:.

lands of the Empire between his brother Sanjar, who ruled in Khorasan and the east with the title of the Greatest Sultan (sultan aleczam), and Muhammad's son Mahmud, who ruled al-Jibal and Adharbayjan, the Sultanate of Iraq, with the title of the Supreme Sultan (sultan alemucazzam). 52

Already under the three great sultans, Tughril,
Alp Arslan and Malikshah, other members of the family had
started semi-independent rule in various parts of the
Middle East. After Malikshah's death, these Seljuq cousins
became virtually independent rulers, at first aspiring to
succeed to the Great Sultanate, but as that institution
fragmented, content to rule in their own domain. They
were the Seljuqs of Rum, controlling the lands of western
Anatolia with Konya as capital, but often engaged in
quarrels as far east as Erzerum and Akhlat; 53 the Seljuqs
of Kirman; 54 and the Seljuqs of Syria in Aleppo and Damascus,
who flourished only through the reign of Barkiyaruq. 55

⁵² General references to the sources for this entire section can be conveniently found in M. Sanaullah, op.cit., pp. 82-132.

⁵³For their political history see now C. Cahen, Pre-Ottoman Turkey, pp. 15-138.

⁵⁴⁰n the Seljuqs of Kirman see <u>supra</u>, "Chap. One," n. 38; Iane-Poole, <u>Dynasties</u>, p. 153; <u>Zambaur</u>, <u>Manuel</u>, No. 213, p. 222.

⁵⁵ Sanaullah, <u>Decline</u>, pp. 85-90; <u>Lanc-Poole</u>, p. 154; Zambaur, No. 212, p. 221.

By the end of the 6th/12th century only the Seljuqs of Rum continued to exist. Sanjar's empire gave way to a fresh invasion of Oghus Turks and by 552/1157 the sultan was dead and the Great Seljuq Sultanate in Kherāsān destroyed. 56 The Seljuks of Kirmān succumbed to the same Oghuz menace about 583/1187. 57 After the death of Sanjar, the Seljuks of Iraq assumed his title of Greatest Sultan, though lands of the sultanate fell eventually into the hands of the Khwārazmshāhs, who also assumed the title of sultan as heirs to the Seljuq tradition. 58 Four decades later the last Seljuq of Iraq, Tughril b. Arslānshāh was himself to die at the hands of the Khwārazmshāhs in 590/1194.59 The Ildegizid atabegs of the former had already seized much or the land of the sultanate, now they began to usurp the titles and royal prerogatives.60

The whole of this Seljuq period is characterized

⁵⁶Barthold, <u>Turkestan</u>, pp. 329-332.

⁵⁷ Cahen, Pre-Ottoman Turkey, pp. 48-49.

⁵⁸⁰n the assumption of the title by Muhammad b. Mahmud, Sultan of Iraq, see Barthold, <u>Turkestan</u>, p. 333, n.2. For a general discussion of relations between the Khwarazmshahs and the Seljuqs of Iraq see, <u>ibid</u>., pp. 333-347.

⁵⁹ Ibn al-Athir, XII, 70; Barthold, p. 347.

⁶⁰ This included the minting of base gold dinars in imitation of their former overlords; for a full discussion see the Ildegizid corpus under Abu Bakr.

by two institutions which are fundamental for the understanding of events once the central authority of the state began to weaken. They are the atabeg and the system. When disintegration started these institutions contributed to the rapid fractionalization of the Empire. The essentials of the atabeg system have been nicely summarized by Sanaullah:

The institution of the Atabegate which was peculiar to the Saljuqid system of administration was a necessary corollary to the conception of the empire as a paternal property. Each prince of the blood-royal was placed under the care of a Turkish general. During his infancy the Atabeg acted as his regent, and after his father's death his mother married, as a matter of course, the prominent Atabeg who in his turn sometimes gave one of his daughters in marriage to his ward... This system of the Atabegate had a detrimental effect on the imperial structure as it turned the princes_into mere puppets in the hands of the adventurous Amirs... On the other hand, sometimes the more virile wards even fell out with their Atabegs and put them to death if such an outrage was possible ...

The Atabegate system was moreover responsible for the investiture of several Saljuqid slaves with kingship if their wards suffered premature death. The Atabegs were the real rulers and their wards were so many figureheads. Nay, often an Atabeg deposed one prince and promoted another in order to safeguard his own interests, as he naturally preferred the weak one over whom he could exercise his absolute authority to the strong one who might be a constant danger to his autocracy... This kind of diarchy was one of the most potent factors in the political disintegration of the Saljuqid empire. as it gradually substituted for the element of unity supplied by the family ties with the central government a large number of disconnected and often hostile dynasties. 61

⁶¹ Decline, pp. 5-7. For more details see C. Cahen, "Atabak," EI2; F. Köprülü, "Ata," IA, I, pp. 712-718.

By the mid-6th/12th century the whole empire was in the hands of these atabegs. Often they were Kipchak Turks recruited or bought by the Oghuz Seliugs for their army. This was the case of Shams al-Din Ildegiz, who gained favor in the court of the Seliuc Sultan of Iraq, Mas cud b. Muhammad b. Malikshah (527/1133-547/1152) and eventually established an hereditary dynasty which ruled much of the land and governed many of the affairs of their Seliuq overlords. The same is true of other atabegs: Tughtegin was appointed atabeg to the Seljuq prince of Damascus, Duqaq; upon the latter's death in 497/1103 he succeeded him as ruler, establishing the Burid dynasty after his son Taj al-Muluk Burl, 62 which in turn was absorbed in 549/1154 by the Zangid atabegs. Zangi was the son of Iq-Sunqur, a Turkish mamluk of Malikshah, who was appointed governor of Iraq in 521/1127 and annexed in the same year Mawsil, Sinjar, Jazīra and Harran. The area was later divided among Zangi's descendents, who were finally conquered by either the Mongols or the Ayyubids in the 7th/13th century. 63 So too, one may enumerate the Begteginids at Harran,

⁶²For the Burids see Sanaullah, <u>Decline</u>, pp. 5-11; Zambaur, <u>Manuel</u>, No.217, p. 225; Lane-Poole, <u>Dynasties</u>, p.161.

⁶³⁰n the Zangids see, H.A.R. Gibb's two chapters, "Zenghi and the Fall of Edessa," and "The Career of Muraldin," in A Mistory of the Crusades, op.cit., Vol. I; on the Ayyubids, idem, "The Ayyubids," ibid., Vol. II.

Irbil and Takrīt; 64 the Artugids at Diyar Bakr, Hisn-Kayfa, Kharpert, and Mardīn; 65 the Shāh-i Armen at Akhlāt; 66 and Salgharids in Fars and the Hazaraspids in Luristan. 67

The second factor which contributed to the territorial fragmentation of the Seljuq empire was the awarding of iqtac (revenue fief) to commanders of the army. Since the empire was essentially structured around a military organization, requiring the cooperation of diverse Turkic elements, it was compelled to insure the allegiance of these forces and to recompense them for their services by payment either in money or kind. The method chosen was the granting of a portion of conquered land, an iqtac, to a military leader, who was to receive its revenue as pay and at the same time be solely responsible for its administration and maintenance. It was not hereditary, but determined by its fiscal value. The iqtac was the revenue from the land itself. It might

⁶⁴See C. Cahen, "Regteginids," EI2; Zambaur, No. 219, p. 228; Lane-Poole, p. 165.

⁶⁵ See now C. Cahen, "Artukids," EL which superredes parts of the same author's "Le Diyar Bakr au temps des premiers Urtukides, " op.cit.; Lane-Poole, pp. 166-169; Zambaur, No. 221, pp. 228-229.

Zambaur, No. 221, p. 229. They are sometimes called the Bertimurids; their residence was at Akhlat on Lake Van.

⁶⁷ Lane-Poole, pp. 172-173 and 174-175; Zambaur, Nos. 225 and 227, pp. 232 and 234-235 respectively.

be withdrawn and pay given in money or it might be exchanged for another iqtae providing the same or different revenue. 68

The granting of such fiefs dates back to earliest Islamic times, but in a somewhat different form; the type of iqtae granted by the Great Seljuqs was like that employed by the Buyids before them, but modified to account for a much larger army. 69

The inherent weaknesses of this distribution of military fiefs became obvious as the central Seljuq authority crumbled; after the death of Malikshah the entire empire was visited by civil wars by which great amirs and atabegs tried to annex the iqtacs of lesser fellow fief holders (muqtacs) and form them into appanages. The central government's control was uncertain and at times even contested. Under these conditions the iqtacs, contrary to the original intention of the dones, often became de facto-hereditary. 70

⁶⁸ There has been much recent work on this institution, especially by Anne K.S. Lambton and Claude Cahen: Lambton, Landlord and Peasant in Persia (Oxford, 1953), Chap. III, "The Iqtac System and the Seljuqs," pp. 53-76; Cahen, "L'évolution de l'iqtac du IX au XIIIe siècle," Annales Economies-Sociétés-Civilisations, VIII (1953), pp. 25-52; Lambton, "Reflections on the Iqtac," Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of H.A.R. Gibb (Leiden, 1965), pp. 358-376; Cahen, "Iktac," El.. The material for this section has been abstracted 'from these sources.

⁶⁹ See the observations on iqtac in C. Cahen, "Buwayhid/Buyid," RI2; see also idem, Pre-Ottoman Turkey, p. 40.

⁷⁰ The later developments [of the iqtac] which are to be seen in the twelfth century and which led to the

In this manner in the 6th/12th century most of the land of the Great Seljuq Empire was in the hands of the most powerful military commanders. Often they had the added honor and power of being the atabeg to a prince of the Seljuq house.

The result of this fissiparous tendency in the central areas of the Middle East as the 6th/12th century grew older was that besides the <u>de jure</u> ruling authorities, the Cabbasid caliph with token power, 71 the Seljuq sultans and princes, and their Turkic generals, there were the following autonomous or semi-autonomous sovereign powers. In central Caucasia the Christian Kingdom of Georgia, under the surviving branch of the Bagratid dynasty, 72 established

establishment of hereditary domains were the result of the decline of the Seljukid régime, not of its power, and of the new conception of the régime that arose precisely from its dismemberment; Cahen, Pre-Ottoman Turkey, p. 40. See also idem, "L'évolution de l'ictz", p. 44.

⁷¹ Toward the end of the century, under caliph al-Masir (575/1179-622/1225), the caliphate was able to take advantage of warning Seljuq power to strengthen the power and influence of its authority beyond the confines of Baghdad; F. Taeshner, "Futuwwa," EI2; Cahen, Pre-Ottoman Turkey, pp. 40, 196-197.

⁷² After Ani and other Bagratid cities were taken over by the Byzantines, most of the Armenian nobility were given fiefs in the west, mostly in Cappadocia; see supra, nn. 11 and 29 and references therein.

the most powerful non-Muslim state in the area, extending its influence over Darband and Shirvan in the east, the Shadaddids of Ani in the south, and even the Ildegizids to the southeast. Darband was in the hands of local Arab Maliks, 73 with matrimonial ties to Georgia and unfriendly relations with Shirvan. The latter was in the hands of the now iranized Shirvanshahs. 74 Who also had matrimonial ties with the Georgians and like them aggressive inclinations toward Darband in the north, Muqan in the south, and Arran, Shakki and Baylagan in the southwest. 75 Both these Islamic dynasties expressed token submission to the CAbbasid caliph and the Seljuq sultan of Iraq. In central Adharbayjan the Bishkinids, who had originally received a fief around Ahar from Alp Arslan, 76 emerged from a century of obscurity as vassals to the Ildegizids, but with semiautonomous power. 77 In southern Adharbayjan the Ahmadilis kept control of Maragha and the surrounding region until the

⁷³ See <u>supra</u>, nn. 16 and 45.

Minorsky, Sharvan, p. 134, and supra, n.22.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 117; Cahen and Minorsky, op.cit., passim; see their corpus for further discussion.

⁷⁶ Nasawi, Sirat, op.cit., text, p. 18, and see introduction to their corpus.

⁷⁷ They began to strike coins in the 590's/1190's, q.v., "Corpus," by which they emerged from their obscurity.

end of the century when they were forced by the Ildegizids to move to areas west of Lake Urmiya around Salmas. 78

The situation in Anatolia was still more confused. In addition to the Seljuqs of Rum around Konya, various shazi⁷⁹ Turkoman states were formed around the principle cities. They were the Saltuqids at Erzerum; 80 the Danishmendids at Sivas and Malatya; 11 and the Mangujekids at Erzinjan and Divrigi. 12 Farther to the west was the much diminished Byzantine Empire; to the south the rising Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia; and along the Syrian and Palestinian coast the Crusader principalities. Add to this mosaic of political entities the Circassians, Alans, Kipchaks and Rus north of the Caucasus, but raiding into

⁷⁸ Minorsky, "Maragha," EI1.

⁷⁹ Traditionally known as volunteer fighters for the faith, they were usually found along the marches, using the ghaswa, the raid, usually for booty as a means of carrying the holy war to the infidel. However the distinction here is individual Turkomans who through chance banded together under a strong usually charismatic leader to form a unit, as opposed to a tribal Turkoman unit which moved on mass into the area from Central Asia. See Paul Wittek, The Rise of the Ottoman Empire (London, 1938) and Fuad Koprulu, Les Origines de l'Empire Ottoman (Paris, 1935) for the theory and argument of this distinction. For general material on the ghazis see C. Cahen, "Ghazi," El2.

⁸⁰Cahen, Pre-Ottoman Turkey, pp. 106-108; Zambaur, No. 131, p. 145.

⁸¹ I. Melikoff, "Dinishmendid," EL, and the more detailed idem, Le Geste de Melik Danishmend, 2 vols. (Paris, 1960).

⁸² Cahen, <u>ibid.</u>, pp.108-112; Zambaur, No.132, pp.145-146.

Caucasia; the Khwarazmshahs, Qarakhanids and nomadic Oghuz in Khorasan, Transoxiana and the trans-Caspian areas; the remnants of the Ghaznavids in northern India and the Fatimids in Egypt, the result is that the 6th/12th century has the honor of the most confused and politically heterogeneous one in the history of the Islamic Middle East. By the end of it the Seljuqs of Iraq have died out and Darband and its Maliks have been absorbed by the Shirvanshahs.

D. The Khwarazmian and Mongol Invasions

In the second quarter of the 7th/13th century political unity was finally restored by the all inclusive Mongol conquest. However, just prior to this event, the last Khwārazmshāh, 83 Jalāl al-Dīn, fleeing before the Mongols, subjected the whole northern tier of Islam, from Iran to Lake Van, and from upper Mesopotamia to the Caucasus, to a series of disruptive campaigns and ephemeral occupations lasting the decade from 618/1221 to 628/1231. After the death of his father, Muhammad b. Takash (596/1199-617/1220), on an island in the Caspian Sea where he had sought refuge from the Mongols after they had seized Khwārazm, Jalāl al-Dīn moved first into the Indus valley, but then into Fārs and al-Jibāl. There he came into conflict with the caliph

⁸³See supra, "Introd.," n.23.

al-Masir, who had regained much of the authority of the caliphate at the expense of other regional powers, 84 and al-Masir's ally, the Ildegizid 'Uzbek b. Muhammad. In 622/1225 he defeated 'Uzbek and occupied Adharbayjan as a base for operations against the Georgians. Thus, some thirty years after their Seljuq overlords were extinguished, the Ildegizid atabegate was ended. 85

Already prior to 'Uzbek's defeat, his general and vassal, Mahmud b. Bishkin of the Maliks of Ahar, had secretly pledged allegiance to the Khwarazmshahs, 86 and when 'Uzbek was killed stepped forward and joined Jalal al-Din. Nevertheless after 623/1226 we hear nothing more of the Bishkinids.

In the same year, 623/1226, the Khwarazmshah moved north against the Georgians, seized Tiflis, and at the same time reimposed the original tribute of Alp Arslan and Malikshah

⁸⁴ Supra, n.71.

⁸⁵ For the surviving members of the dynasty see their corpus and genealogy.

Muhammad at Ispahan in 614/1217, Mahmud was captured by the Khwarazmians, to whom he related the story of how his ancestors, who were Georgian princes, converted to Islam after being captured by Alp Arslan and rewarded by the latter with the fief of Ahar and the surrounding areas. The Khwarazmians upon hearing this story, reconfirmed the fief with a document which Mahmud produced after 'Uzbek's death. See Nasawi, Sirat, ed. Houdas, op.cit., pp. 3, 14, 16-18; cf. Minorsky, "Caucasica II.," op.cit., p. 868.

on the Shirvanshahs. This was followed by a lightening raid on Kirman, but then back west for an unsuccessful siege of Akhlat. In the next year Jalal al-Din engaged a contingent of Mongols who again appeared in central Iran, but his victory meant little to the course of events. After another campaign against the Georgians in 626/1229, he again laid siege to Akhlat and the city capitulated in 627/1230. Four months later he was defeated in battle against Alat al-Din Kay-Kubadh, the Seljuq sultan of Rum, and al-Ashraf, the amir of Akhlat. He retreated to Adharbayjan, but there a part of the Mongol army under Chormaghun overtook him in Muqan and Jalal al-Din, pursued by the Mongols, fled toward Akhlat. In Shawwal 628/August 1231 he was killed by an anonymous Kurd on the road to Mayyafariqin. 89 His soldiers were to roam aimlessly around

⁸⁷ Minorsky, Sharvan, p. 120, but see corpus for a full discussion from the sources.

⁸⁸The first raid was in 617-8/1220-1 under Yeme (Jebe) and Sübetei coming from Iran, but, after ravaging Tabriz, Maragha and Naxijawan, their path led through Arran, Shirvan, and finally through the Darial pass of Darband to join the army under Tushi in the steppe north of the Caspian and from there rejoin Chingiz-Khan. See Ata-Malik Juwaini, Boyle's trans., op.cit., I, pp. 145-149.

^{89&}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, II, p. 459; see also Nasawi, trans., pp. 409-410.

the Middle East for another generation offering their services to any ruler who might give them refuge. The last survivors are found at the victory of the Egyptian Mamlüks over the Mongols at Cain Jalut in 657/1260.90

Fifteen years after their first raid in 618/1221, the Mongols came again to Caucasia by way of the Middle East, this time sweeping all before them. By 633/1236 they had captured Ganja and moved north to Tiflis forcing the Georgian Queen Rusudan and her court to western Georgia; however, after a few years she offered submission to Mongol representatives and sent her son David to Qaraqorum to pay homage to the Great Khān. 91 In 634/1237 Shirvan was subjugated and, most likely for tax purposes, unified under a single rule, probably Akhsatān II; 92 Darband was by then considered part of Shirvan. 93

⁹⁰ The details for this whole section will be found in Juwaini, tr. Boyle, II, pp. 396-460, also summarized in idem, "Dialal al-Din Khwarazm-shah," EI; Minorsky, "Tiflis," EI; Cahen, "The Turks in Iran and Anatolia before the Mongol Invasions," A History of the Crusades, op.cit., II, pp. 661-692.

⁹¹ Minorsky, "Tiflis;" G. Lang, Numismatic History of Georgia, op.cit., p. 34.

⁹² full discussion of fragmented and then unified rule in shirvan during this period will be found under their corpus.

⁹³ around 600/1203 or somewhat earlier, but surely by 618/1221, when the lord of Darband is brother of the

During the next decade the Mongols were relatively inactive in the Middle East, but conquered central Russia, the Ukraine and went on to Poland and Hungary. However, by 640/1242 they were again busy, now in Anatolia, where in 641/1243 they met and defeated the Seljuq army under Kay-Khusraw II at Kösedağ; through the cleverness of the latter's vizir, the Seljuqs of Rūm became the tax collectors of the Mongols in western Anatolia. At about the same time the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia also offered submission and King Het'um journeyed to Qaraqorum. After another quiet interval during which Möngke was chosen Great Khan (649/1251), the Khan's brother Hūlagū moved into Iran and destroyed the Assassins of his in their mountain fortress of Alamūt in 654/1256;

Shirvanshah; see Ibn al-AthIr, XII, p. 264 and Yaqut, Muclam al-buldan, ed. Wüstenfeld, III, p. 317, and the long discussion in the Shirvanshah corpus under Rashid.

Oh-Cahen, Pre-Ottoman, pp. 138-139, 269 ff.

⁹⁵An interesting account is in Kirakos Ganjakeçi, now trans, with commentary by J.A. Boyle, "The Journey of Hat'um I, King of Little Armenia, to the Court of the Great Khan Mongke, "Central Asian Journal, IX/3 (1964), pp. 174-189.

⁹⁶An Ismal cili Shi sect also known as the Batinis, spread throughout the Middle East, but especially important in Iran, who justified assassination as a political tool. They were extremely annoying to the Seljuqs who never succeeded in destroying their power; the first important victim they claimed was Nizam al-Mulk. See now Bernard Lewis, The Assassins (London, 1967), but for a more penetrating study, Marshall G.S. Hodgson, The Order of the Assassins (The Hague, 1955).

two years later the final death blow was given to the long moribund caliphate at Baghdad. After the death of Möngke in 657/1259, Rulagu became the autonomous ruler of Iran, Mesopotamia and the surrounding regions. Thus started the Il-Khan dynasty? which soon brought under its control all the area north of Mamlük Egypt and ruled them until the 8th/l4th century. During the Il-Khan occupation, among the dynasties whose coins are studied in this work, only the Shirvanshahs and the Kings of Georgia survived, both of which preserved a degree of autonomy by the regular payment of tribute. 98

II. THE NUMISMATIC BACKGROUND

A. The Pre-Seling Period

Not having any coinage of their own, during most of the 1st/7th century, the Arabs modified or imitated the

⁹⁷⁰n the title and name see supra, "Introd.," n.8.

⁹⁸⁰n this tribute and comparative figures for Shirvan see Hamduallah Mustawfi Qazwini, <u>Muzhat al-Gulüb</u>, trans. G. Le'Strange, p. 93. This work compares for each Il-Khanid province the tax during Seljuq times and the early 8th/l+th century, see also <u>supra</u>, "Chap. One," n.42.

Byzantine and Sasanian coins then in circulation. 99 Byzantine gold denarius aureus, later to become the Arab dinar, was modified by replacing the emperor with cross in hand by the caliph with sword on the obverse, while the reverse substituted a ball for a cross on top of a column; the legends on both sides were changed to Arabic in Kufi characters. 100 Sasanian silver coins, retaining the portrait of the king, altered by the addition of crescents and stars and the words "in the name of Allah" (bismillah), became the model for the Arab dirham. 101

In circa 76-77/695-696 the Umayyad caliph CAbd-al-Malik introduced a reform in the coinage replacing all representational motifs with pure epigraphy. 102 Silver dirhams carried the mint name and date already from these early

⁹⁹ Modifications in coin types were gradual, probably in order to make the Islamic coins appear somewhat similar to the existing coinage to which the people in the conquered territories were accustomed. For a survey of this coinage see John Walker's definitive Catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian Coins (London, 1941) and idem, Catalogue of the Arab-Byzantine and Post-Reform Umaiyad Coins (London, 1956); also, P. Grierson, "The Monetary reforms of 'Abd al-Malik," JESHO, III (1960).

100 See ibid. for examples and a discussion in George U. Miles, "Dinar", EI2: see also Grierson, ibid.

¹⁰¹ see Walker, Arab-Sassanian Joins, op.cit., and Miles, "Dirham," EI

¹⁰² The obverse almost uniformly had the formula, "There is no god but allah alone; he has no associate," with the date and mint place in a circular marginal legend. The reverse also carried a formula, in later times

times; the gold dIna6 did not carry mint names until about a century or more later, the first mint seemingly being Egypt (Misr) circa 198/813. 103 Finally, there was from the earliest years a copper coinage known as fals, pl. fulus. 104 These coins, especially the dInar and dirham, retained almost the same size and appearance with modifications only in the formulae until the 4th/10th century. 105 The reigning caliph's name was always mentioned, even in later times by such autonomous dynasties as the Samanids, Buyids and Seljuqs. As stated before the striking of coins along with the saying of the ruler's name in the Friday prayer (khutbah) were the two overt signs of sovereignty or change

often "Muhammad is the messenger of Allah," with the name of the caliph and a pious legend from the Qur'an, usually Surah IX, verse 33. See the works of Walker cited above and now for the dinar see George C. Miles, "The Earliest Arab Gold Coinage," Museum Notes of the ANS, 13 (1967), pp.205-229, Pls.XLV-XLVII, and Grierson, op.cit.

¹⁰³ Mint names on dīnīrs became common about twenty years later; for a list see Miles, Rayy, pp.118-119.

¹⁰⁴ See A. Udovitch, "Fals," EI2.

The 5th/llth and 6th/l2th centuries present various problems because of the disappearance of the silver dirham and the rarification of the dinar to the advantage of the fals, which traditionally tended to vary in style more than its more valuable cousins. The plates at the back of Miles, Rayy, or any other illustrated catalogue of early Islamic coins will demonstrate the point quickly.

thereof. 106

In southeastern Caucasia and Adharbayjan up to the early 4th/10th century almost no gold was minted. The dirham was the most common and after it the fals. The first and largest mint was Arminiya, actually located at Dvin (Arabic: Dabil); 107 it had a continuous minting tradition from 81/700-1 to 333/944-5. 108 The other mints in the area struck coins at various times during these same years. 109 They are Darband (al-Bab), Arran, Yazidiya (i.e., Shamākhiya), Ganja (Janza), 110 Bardaca (Bardhca), Tiflīs,

¹⁰⁶ supra, "Introd.," n.26.

¹⁰⁷ There is actually a dirham for the year 240/854-5 with the mint name "Dabil;" reference from the private files of George C. Miles at the American Numismatic Society (henceforth: "Files" and ANS respectively).

¹⁰⁸ See E.A. Pakhomov, Monety Azerbaidzhana, 2 vols. (fascicules) (Baku, 1959, 1963); this is a modified corpus of all official Ummayad and CAbbasid coinage arranged by year and mint place for Adharbayjan, by which is meant the present territory of the Republic of Azerbayjan with Dvin and Darband thrown in. Places, i.e., mints, such as Ardabil and even "Adharbayjan" itself, because they are in Iran today, are not included. Miles, "Files," have been of great use to fill in gaps in Pakhomov.

¹⁰⁹ fairly accurate list of the northern cities as qualified in n.108 can be found in Pakhomov.

The ANS has a dirham of "Janza" dated 94/712-3; George C. Miles, Rare Islamic Coins, ANS (New York, 1950), p. 23, no.76; with another in the British Museum; a third is found in Pakhomov, Monety, I, p. 46 with refs. This should settle once and for all the question of

Ard al-Khazar (?), Ardabīl, Hamadhān, "Adharbayjān" and 'Urmiya. All of these were struck by caliphal officials with full authority.

There was in addition the following independently struck coinage. For the Ja^C farid amīrs in Tiflis we have dirhams from 342/953-4 to 394-414/1003-1023. There is also an anonymous Georgian issue, probably of Bagrat III (364/975-404/1014), and another of Bagrat IV (418/1027-465/1072) of Byzantine affinity; both issues are silver. There is a single copper issue of the Armenian King Korikē (which one is not certain). The silver coins struck by the Shirvanshahs in this early period will be discussed in the corpus. Dirhams were struck by the Sallarids, probably

the founding of that city. It would not appear to be in 245/859 as maintained by V. Minorsky, Studies, p. 80, n.3; idem, Sharvan, p. 57; Barthold/Boyle, "Gandia," El2; but at least 150 years earlier.

¹¹¹D. Lang, Numismatic History of Georgia, pp. 13-17.

^{112&}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 18-20.

¹¹³E.A. Pakhomov, "O monete Korike kuropalata (Concerning the Coin of Korike the Curopalat)," Iz. Kavkaz. istoriko-arkheol. instituta, III (Tiflis, 1925), pp. 37-48; see also various other references in the article on recent Armenian numismatics by Paul Z. Bedoukian in Revue des Etudes Arméniennes, New Series, I (1963), "Survey of Fublications on Armenian Numismatics from 1925 to 1963," pp.415-426.

at Ardabīl; 114 and the Shadāddids of Arrān at Ganja and Dwin are represented by silver (?) from circa 375/985 to circa the 450's/1060's. 115 Finally, Byzantine gold, silver and copper seem to be in circulation in the entire area. 116

What is very striking about these statistics is that for about 120 years before the arrival of the Seljuqs, that is from about the 330's/940's to the 450's/1060's, and for another seventy years after until the 520's/1120's, there was very little coinage of any kind struck in the area. The reasons and the consequences of this phenomenon have not yet been satisfactorily explained. It was a period of flourishing trade, at least for Armenian cities like Ani and Dvin, and one would think that coinage would be of paramount importance. The explanations for this dearth of coins usually are involved with the so-called silver crisis or silver famine (to be discussed below) which begins in this period.

B. The Seljug Period

The Great Seljuqs almost exclusively struck gold

¹¹⁴ See Zambaur, Manuel, No. 165, p. 180; at least it was their capital.

¹¹⁵ Zambaur. No. 171, pp. 184-185.

¹¹⁶ The information is abstracted from Pakhomov, Klady, op.cit., the nine fascicules of hoards.

dīnārs of a high quality; minting started under Tughril Beg as early as the 430's/1040's and continued in good quantity until shortly after the death of Malikshāh. Then their coinage almost stopped; the few pieces of poorly struck gold have been described as "miserable." As for the Seljuqs of Iraq, almost all known issues are badly struck and often clipped, debased dīnārs; 118 they do not extend beyond the 560's/1160's. In Caucasia and Adharbayjān all of the coinage in the Seljuq period up to the Mongol invasions was, with two exceptions, 119 entirely copper and mostly irregularly struck. This generalization includes the Ildegizids, Bīshkīnids, Shirvānshāhs, Maliks of Darband, an unidentified wassal of the Ildegizids and the Kings of Georgia, who for the whole period struck exclusively bilingual coppers. 120

¹¹⁷ George C. Miles, Rayy, p. 216.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., p. 217; very few have come to light.

¹¹⁹ Both to be discussed in the corpus; silver issues, mostly base, of the Shirvanshahs until circa 514/1120, and, three very base gold dinars (?) of the last Ildegizids, Abu Bakr and 'Uzbek.

The Arabic-Georgian bilingual coinage "did not, during Georgia's Golden Age, imply political dependence on the Muslim powers. Indeed the Georgian dynasts took pride in their Arabic legends in vaunting their role as Defender of the Christian Faith. Sometimes the Caliph's name was included as a gesture of conciliation to Georgia's many Muslim subjects, as well as to the inhabitants of neighbouring states, among whom economic considerations made it desirable that Georgia's coinage should circulate as widely as possible;" D. Iang, Numismatic History of Georgia, p. 2.

Other Islamic minting authorities were the Khwarazmshahs, who struck dinars from the 550's/ll60's to just after the turn of the 7th/l3th century; l21 The Assassins, represented by a rare small gold issue from Alamut in the 530's/ll30's; l22 and the Salgharid atabegs at Fars, who issued gold (?) just after mid-century. l23

In Anatolia, northern Syria, and upper Mesopotamia, there was an entirely different and numismatically interesting phenomenon during this period. Large copper coins were struck of near uniform size and thickness perhaps representing token dirhams in lieu of silver. 124 Almost without exception the obverse bore a portrait or other representational motif. The portrayal of human or animal forms on coins was de facto prohibited in the post reform period. 125 If we discount the pre-reform issues of Byzantine and Sasanian affinity, there is only one previous instance of representational coins. These were large gold pieces struck

¹²¹ Zambaur, No. 199, D., p. 209.

¹²² Zambaur, No. 209, pp. 217-218; specimen listed in Markov, <u>Inventarny</u>, <u>op.cit.</u>, and another in the ANS, unpublished.

¹²³ Zambaur, No. 225, p. 232.

¹²¹ For which see below.

¹²⁵ see supra, n.102.

in the 4th/10th century by the Buyids; on one side there was usually a portrait of a Buyid prince, Sasanian in manner, and on the other often some animal(s). The few existing pieces more than likely are commemorative medals rather than coins struck for monetary usage. 126

As for the 6th/l2th century representational coppers under discussion, their minting follows a rough chronological pattern, starting in western Anatolia and gradually moving east as the century wears on. That is those areas furthest removed from orthodox Islamic authorities, the caliph in Baghdad and the sultan in Ispahān or Hamadān, were the first in which portraiture was used and the movement eastward, even closer to these religious centers, probably reflects the diminishing power of a weakened central government to oppose such practices. The minting pattern is as follows: in the first years of the century the Dānishmandids of Sivas and shortly after the Seljuqs of Rūm; in the 510's/1110's the Artuqids of Mārdin; the 530's/1140's the Artuqids of

¹²⁶ See George C. Miles, "A Portrait of the Buyid Prince Rukn al-Dawlah," ANS, Museum Notes, XI (1964), pp. 283-293. The reversion to a Sasanian style reflects the interest in imitating things Persian during the so-called "Iranian Intermezzo;" see supra, "Introd, " n.31, "Chap. Two," n.12 (on the Shici origin of the Buyids, which may be a factor here) and n.13.

Amid-Khayfa, the Zangids at Aleppo, Damascus and Mawsil; the 540's/1150's the Danishmendids of Malatya; the 550's/1160's the Saltuqids at Erzerum, the Mangujekids at Arzinjan and Divrigi; the 560's/1170's the Zangids at Sinjar; and finally after 570/1180 the Zangids of Jazīrah, the Artuqids of Kharpert, the Ayyūbids at Sinjar and Mayyāfāriqīn, the Shāh-i Armen at Akhlāt, and the Begtegīnids at Irbil. 127

These representational coins were all struck in a geographical area which, prior to the end of the previous 5th/llth century, was Christian and under Byzantine dominion; it was also an area of Crusader activity. Thus far the only reasonable explanation proposed is the desire on the part of the new Turkic rulers to provide a coinage not too dissimilar from the Byzantine copper to which the indigenous population had been accustomed for centuries. 128

¹²⁷ The material for this section has been taken from Günar Inal, "A Study of the Iconography of Some Turkish Coins from the 12th and 13th Centuries," an unpublished paper prepared for the Summer Seminar in Numismatics of the ANS (New York, 1962), see especially the chart. See also Zambaur, Manuel, passim under the respective dynasties.

¹²⁸ See now Claude Cahen's preceptive, but frustrating review and analysis of the possible explanations of this peculiar coinage; Pre-Ottoman Turkey, pp. 168-171. It is frustrating for even Cahen is unsure. One of the problems in his discussion of this most complex problem is to assume that "copper was of no commercial importance," (p. 169). As mentioned above, there was almost no other coinage being struck. Some of these copper issues even had "dirham" written on them (see infra, n.148) indicating that they were substitutes for them. Before any serious work can be done

A detailed discussion of this interesting coinage is not within the scope of this study, but on the surface it would seem that the uniformity of the coins allowed their commercial use throughout the general area. As will be shown later in this chapter some of it even made its way into southern Caucasia.

These coins are of interest to us for two reasons. First they clearly demonstrate the ever diminishing power of the central Seljuq authority and the proliferation of local dynasts, unhindered by any other major power of the period. The second reason why this representational money is of importance is the contrast they provide with the coins in the corpus. It is precisely this contrast which produced the original inspiration and structuring of this work. It was observed by examination that in the whole of the 6th/12th century, distinguished by the exclusive striking of copper by almost all dynastic authorities from western anatolia to Caucasia, Adharbayjan and areas immediately south, that the coins divided themselves into two distinct groups: a representational or semi-representational group and a purely epigraphical group. Furthermore, the groups

on this problem, corpora of these coins must be prepared, and hoards analyzed. See also Cahen's similar and less complete earlier remarks on the subject in "Artukid," EL2. Cf., supra, n.120, discussion of the reverse tendency in the same century, namely Christian coins modified to conform to Muslim criteria.

separated themselves into two geographical areas: Anatolia, northern Syria and upper Mesopotamia, representational; Caucasia and Adharbayjan, completely inscriptional. It is the corpus of this purely non-pictorial coinage which forms the body of this study.

C. The Khwarazmian and Mongol Period

only slight modifications over the previous one and numismatically could be regarded, at least for the first two decades, as an extension of the 6th/12th. The Seljuqs in the east had completely disappeared. The Khwarazmshah Jalal al-Din during his decade of ravages in the Middle East, 129 struck large, very irregular coppers reminiscent of the copper coinage of the Georgian Queen Tamar (580/1185-610/1213) 130 and somewhat less those of Shirvan of the same period; they were probably produced exclusively by those mints. While Shirvan and Georgia continued to issue their own coinage right throughout this whole period, Ildegizid and Bishkinid minting came to an abrupt stop,

¹²⁹ See supra, "Section I:, D."

¹³⁰ Illustrations of this coinage can be found in Lang, <u>Numismatic History of Georgia</u>, Pl.II, figs. 4,5; for those of the Kharazmanshah see ibid., Pl.II, fig. 9, and pl.III, figs. 1,2.

even though the latter gave homage to the Khwarazmshah and joined his forces. 131 The Maliks of Darband had already faded into obscurity; the few rare and undated <u>fals</u> of their last ruler, Cabd-al-Malik b. Bekbars, probably are to be assigned to the decade before the appearance of Jalal al-Din. 132

However, there is a radical change in the coinage of Caucasia and Adharbeyjan which coincided with the final Mongol occupation and that change is the reminting of silver. Already in the Ayyubid controlled areas of Syria and the Seljuq areas of Anatolia it was minted somewhat earlier, 133 but for Caucasia the coincidence is exact. 134 The Shirvanshahs, the one surviving dynasty in this study, continued to mint copper coins; the first mention of the

¹³¹ The last Bishkinid issue is dated 623/1226; the last undated issues of the Ildegizid, buzbek, were most likely struck shortly before his death in 622/1225; for details see the corpus.

¹³² Perhaps even before 600/1203, see supra, n.93, and their corpus.

¹³³ The Ayyubids in Damascus in 570/1174-5, the Seljuq at Konya, 581/1185-6; see Andrew Matson, "Back to Gold--and Silver," op.cit., pp. 5-6 for detailed accounting of this resumption of silver minting in the Middle East.

¹³⁴ dirham of Queen Rusudan of Georgia, "Tiflis," 627-8/1230, Lang, p. 31, no.14, and not 638/1240-1 as Watson, p.6, indicates.

Mongol Great Khān on these issues was rather late, 653/1255-6, and then still together with the Cabbāsid caliph in Baghdad. 135 The last existing issues of the Shirvānshāhs seem to date from the 660's/1260's, though the dynasty rather lamely survived into the next century. 136 The Georgians also continued to mint right through this period, but in silver and with the name of the Mongol overlord recorded a decade earlier, 642/1244-5. 137 To complete the picture after the Mongol invasions, in the west the Artuqiās at Mārdin, the Zangids at Mawsil, the Seljuqs of Rūm at Konya, 138 and the Armenian Kingdoms of Cilicia, 139 continued to strike coins, the latter two

¹³⁵ Just two years before the death of the last caliph, al-Mustacsim, during the destruction of Baghdad by Hulagn in 656/1258.

¹³⁶ Perhaps an anonymous coin of Farrukhzad II b. Akhsatan II, q.v., the corpus, where further details on the last Shirvanshahs will be found.

¹³⁷ See Lang, p. 35, no.15, a dirham.

¹³⁸ For the Artuqids, Zangids, and Seljuqs of Rum, see Zambaur, Manuel, under the respective dynasties.

¹³⁹ For the coinage of Cilician Armenian see now the near definitive, Paul Bedoukian, The Coinage of Cilician Armenia, ANS (New York, 1962); Arm. trans. (Vienna, 1965).

having switched completely to silver. Finally, during the whole period under consideration in this study there is also an uninterrupted coinage, gold and later silver, in Egypt, Palestine and southern Syria, by the Fatimids, Ayyūbids, and Mamlūks successively.

D. The Silver Crisis

Reference has been made several times to the silver crisis or famine. Shortly before the end of the 4th/10th century a remarkable, omnipresent shortage of silver affected the entire Middle East. In a short time it practically ceased to be coined anywhere in the Muslim world. Fractional currency in base metals, mostly copper, took its place, alongside gold dīnārs which continued to circulate. 140 In southeastern Caucasia and Adharbayjān only in Georgia and Shirvan was any silver minted and this only to the first quarter of the 6th/12th century, in very limited quantities, often base. This was probably due to the indigenous silver mines in Georgia. 141 It is curious that

Bast..., op.cit., p. 291 ff.; E.A. Pakhomov, Monety Gruzii, I, pp. 79-80; idem, Kratžii kurse, p. 16, 27; idem, Klady, I, pp. 24-26; V.V. Barthold, Istorii kul'turnoi zhizni Turkestana (History of the Cultural Life of Turkestan) (Leningrad, 1927), pp. 82-83; Pakhomov, "Monetnoe obrashchenie," op.cit., pp.84-85; Mushegian, Denezhnoe, op.cit., pp. 26-30; the material for this section has been abstracted from these sources and A. Watson, "Back to Silver," pp. 1-7. See supra, "Chap.One," n.118, for complete citations of these articles and further references.

¹⁴¹ Pakhomov, "Monetnoe obrashchenie," p. 84.

the contemporary sources are completely silent on this silver deficiency in the Near East.

This silver shortage has still not been adequately explained. Robert Blake attributed it to the expansion of Russian and Scandinavian export trade to the Islamic world draining off silver currency to the North: 142 the loss of the Caucasian and the famous Zarafshān (in Soghdiana) silver mines in the 3rd/9th and late 4th/loth centuries respect—ively; the general disintegration of the Cabbāsid caliphate; and the Seljuq invasions which drove a wedge between the Slavonic and Arab worlds. 143 Soviet scholars led by Rakhomov add economic deterministic reasons, heavily Marxian in their interpretation. For them the fractionalization of the area into small political entities resulted in an isolated feudal situation where local lords exploited the masses by strengthening the barter economy which was fully in their control at the expense of a moneyed economy

Indeed the loss of silver dirhams to the north was enormous; at least 120,000 of these have been found in Russia and another 85,000 in Scandinavia; watson, p. 4, n.4 and 5 with references. Pakhomov remarks that more of these dirhams are found outside the Middle East than where they were originally minted, ibid., p. 83.

¹⁴³Blake, p. 328; a short summary can also be found in Lang, p. 22.

based on fixed silver and gold coinage. The recent argument of watson is that essentially silver had a higher value relative to gold in Europe, so that all the Muslim silver found its way north and west, while the opposite flow of gold east was the result of gold having a higher value there. His discussion may be valid for the late 7th/13th century and after, but it is not convincing for the 5th/11th-6th/12th centuries. Whatever the solution of this complex problem may be, for our purposes the fact of the silver shortage rather than the factors which caused it, is more important.

That copper was intended to replace silver as a commercial currency, contrary to the suggestion of C. Cahen that copper was of no commercial importance, 146 is attested to during the period of the silver crisis by the corollary phenomenon of the copper or token dirham. 147 From Anatolia

¹⁴⁴ Pakhomov, "Monetnoe obrashchenie," p. 90.

^{145&}quot;Back to Silver," esp. pp. 21-22.

¹⁴⁶ See supra, n.128. Of course normally copper was not of commercial importance, but at a time when there was no silver and the gold was rare or very base, as was the case in Anatolia, Caucasia, Adharbayjan and al-Jibal in this period, copper had to serve for commercial purposes, i.e., trade, exchange. For more information see the following notes.

¹⁴⁷ Pakhomov refers to these as "credit dirhams" and adds that they were struck by Zangids, Begteginids, Artuqids, Suqmanids(? = Shah-i Armen), Ayyubids, Danishmendids and others; Klady, I, p. 25. See the next note for more details.

dirham or "this is a dirham." In the early 7th/13th century, Nasawi says that the representative of the Khwarazmshah Jalal al-Din collected in one year 200,000 "barbaric dinars" in Shirvan. We know of no dinars struck in the area; this is perhaps another reference to substitute copper coinage; it was probably "regularly" struck copper.

E. Copper Coinage. Regular and Irregular

During the silver crisis only copper was coined in southeastern Caucasia and Adharbayjan. Pakhomov was the first to notice that this coinage fell into two

[[]haha al-dirham] a coin of outb al-Din Il-Ghazi, of the Artuqids of Mardin dated 579/1183-4; see Kh. Mushegian, Denezhnoe, op.cit., p. 85, no.111, illustrated with three references. Coppers with "dirham" were also struck by the Zangids of Sinjar (ibid.); the Seljuqs of Iraq by Macsud b. Muhammad (527/1132-547/1153) at Ardabil (ibid., p. 149, no.958, illustrated); the Georgian queen. Tamar, and Queen Rusudan, the latter in the name of Jalal al-Din, dated 623/1226 (Iang, p. 28, n.12, illustrated, note that it is of the "irregular" type); other examples in Pakhomov, Monety Gruzii, I, p. 108 and D.G. Kapanadse, Gruzinskaia numizmatika (Moscow, 1955), pp. 64-66, cf. Mushegian, p. 27, n.6; the Qarakhanids in the 7th/13th century, see reference to an article by Davidovich in Mushegian, p. 27, n.4.

¹⁴⁹ Ed. Houdas, text, pp. 173-174.

¹⁵⁰ Note the exceptions given in supra, n.119.

categories, which he distinguished as "regularly" struck and "irregularly" struck copper. 151 He defined them thus: "regularly" struck copper was money of a definite form, usually circular, and near uniform weight, which he conjectured, allowed these coins to be regarded as money with a definite unit value; "irregularly" struck copper were bits of the metal, of diverse form, size and weight, rarely containing the impression of a whole die, 152 and whose largely fluctuating weight did not suggest the possibility of their use as unit currency of a definite value. Rather this irregularly struck copper was sold or exchanged by weight of minted metal, irrespective of the number of pieces in a given weight. 153 Furthermore, irregular copper is almost

¹⁵¹ Monety Gruzii, p. 82; cf. "Monetnoe obrashchenie," p. 87.

¹⁵² In the hundreds of irregular coppers examined during the course of this study, not one contained a complete obverse and reverse die. Almost without exception the phanchet (the die of metal on which a coin is struck) is too small for the die. The striking of these "coins" was so careless that often coins are found with the same die, sometimes the obverse sometimes the reverse, used on both sides (see the Darband Malik's corpus). These conditions have made it necessary to reconstruct legends from various specimens, and naturally, when only one or a few specimen exist, have made proper, fully accurate readings almost impossible.

¹⁵³ See the previous note; in an isolated local barter economy it would make little difference.

never found in hoards outside the area in which it was struck; therefore, it was probably used not as units of money, but in weight-lots of stamped copper in an area of local barter economy. 154

This prevalence of irregular copper in Caucasia is unique in the numismatic history of the Middle East. It is confined to an area north of the Kur River and includes eastern Georgia, Darband, and Shirvan. The entire output of the Maliks of Darband and the 6th/12th century Shirvan-shahs consists of this irregular copper. The Ildegizids and the Kings of Georgia both struck regular and irregular copper, the latter type unquestionably designed for use in trade or barter with Darband and Shirvan. 155 The Bishkinid Maliks of Ahar, because of their position south of the Araxes, struck an exclusively regular copper token dirham type coinage. 156 The as yet unidentified Ildegizid vassal

¹⁵⁴ See previous note. Pakhomov's distinctions have been liberally paraphrased, modified and added to from personal observations of the coins under study.

chenie," p. 87, and the discussion to follow; for the Georgians, Pakhomov, Monety Gruzii, pp. 79-82; Lang, pp. 24-25. Lang says these may have been hastily minted in large quantities to be provided for the areas conquered during queen T'amar's time. They may have been struck under Georgian supervision at mints in Shirvan and Darband, which were more or less under Georgian suzerainty. "The first irregular coppers were struck under Dimitri I (519/1125-550/1155), who employed some mint-masters from Shirvan; bid., p. 25, n.1, citing A. Bykov, "Gruzinskie monety XII-XIII vv. (Georgian Coins XII-XIIIth Centuries), Pamiatniki epokhi Rustaveli (Lenihgrad, 1938), p. 80.

¹⁵⁶ In size, texture and style of epigraphy these coins

minted a copper coinage somewhere between regular and irregular like certain types of their atabeg overlords; since most of the coins of this dynasty originate from the Muquan steppe just south of the Kur, it would appear to be a compromise area where both types were in use. 157

Among the Ildegizid coins, which are of both varieties, Pakhomov distinguishes four types. The first is large, heavy and regular, often with the mint name Ardabil and the date. These coins usually bear in addition to the name of the Ildegizid atabeg, that of the reigning caliph and Seljuq sultan. They are not found north of the Kur and rarely in Arran, i.e. Ganja, which is a neutral area similar to Muqan. This Ardabil type is most abundant in the south: Ardabil, Naxijawan and Lenkoran. The second type is thin, regular and circular without mint name or date, with the mention of the Seljuq sultan, but without the caliph. It is found predominantly

are very much like the token dirham coppers of eastern Anatolia and northern Syria. Of course they do not have any representation, but as a group they stand out from the rest of the coins in this study.

¹⁵⁷ The whole region along the length of the right bank of the Kur, including Ganja, Bardaca and Muqan seems to be an area where both regular and irregular coins circulated. It is the buffer zone between exclusively regular and exclusively irregular copper coinage.

in Armenia, especially Dvin, 158 and bordering areas along the Araxes, but not in other parts of Soviet Azerbayjan. Because this type is so different from the previous ArdabIl variety, Pakhomov ruled out their being struck there and favored a large Ildegizid city like Tabriz. The third type is rather thick, angular, and therefore, irregular; few of the coins in this group show a circular border with mint name and date. 159 Struck in the late 6th/12th century and bearing the caliph al-Nasir's name, they are found almost exclusively in the territory of Soviet Azerbayjan, i.e., Arran, especially the cities of Ganja, Barda and Baylaqan and in large hoards along the banks of the Kur. The fourth and final type is composed of small regular coins of Shams al-Din Ildegiz with the caliphs al-Mugtafi (530/1136-555/1160) or al-Mustandjid (555/1160-566/1170) found exclusively in Ganja, and, therefore, known as the "Ganja" type. 160

¹⁵⁸ The overwhelming majority of the 359 Ildegizid coins found in the excavations are of this type; see Mushegian, passim. Perhaps the Christians felt better without the name of the caliph, nor Allah or any other Muslim characteristics.

¹⁵⁹ These are in such bad condition and so carelessly struck and clipped on the borders, that Pakhomov knows only one with the mint name, and that is Shamkur, on a copper in the Hermitage; "Monetnoe obrashchenie," p. 87, n.l. I know of no other reference or description of this coin and even though Pakhomov says the coin is very carefully minted, the statement must be approached cautiously.

¹⁶⁰ But in another place he refers to these coins as angular: Klady, II, H+15, pp. 28-29.

Caution must be exercised in the use of these distinctions; the evidence is based on archeological work done north of the Araxes. Excavation of cities in Iranian Adharbayjan such as Ahar, Ardabil, Tabriz, and Hamadan, may turn up different and conflicting data. For example, the three gold Ildegizid coins described for the first time in this corpus are totally unknown to Soviet scholars. 161

F. Tamghas, Mints, Hoards and Monetary Circulation

A tamgha¹⁶² was a tribal mark common to the Turks and Mongols of Central Asia; it was usually made by stamping or branding and most likely originated or was made popular because of its use as an identifying sign for the horses and

¹⁶¹ Nor to western scholars for that matter; see the Ildegizid corpus under Abu Bakr.

This is not to be confused with the tughra which was also used by Turkic peoples, but more as an official monogram at the top of written documents. It was more an individual than a tribal mark; in the case of the Seljuqs, the bow was used for both tampha and tughra; see C. Cahen, "Ia Tugra seljukide," JA (1943-1945), pp. 167-172; Jean Deny, "Tugra," EI1.

cattle of each tribe. The Turks brought the custom with them into the Middle East and in the Sth/lith century often used it on coins they struck. The practice of using it on coins was not universal among the Turks, not of course did all tribal units or even non-tribal units strike coins. The two major sources for these tanghas are the 5th/lith century Dictionary of Mahmud of Kashghar 163 and the Universal History of the late 7th/l3th century Mongol historian Rashid al-Din. 164 The Great Seljuqs used as their tangha a bow and arrow usually placed above both the obverse and reverse of each coin. 165 The Ildegizid atabegs used two major tanghas, a trident, though sometimes with only two prongs, and a bow; 166 they are used on their coins, though not universally. The Bishkinids, though originally of Georgian origin, 167 also

¹⁶³ q.v., "Chap. One," n.l. The tamphas from both authors' work as well as that from the 9th/15th century Ottoman historian Yazidci-oglu's Ogbuznameh are given in tabular form in Faruk Sümer, Oguzlar (Türkmenler), op.cit., Tables I-III, after p. 208.

¹⁶⁴Q.v. supra, "Chap. One," n.29 and the preceeding note.

¹⁶⁵ See examples, Miles, Rayy, nos.222-234, Pls. IV-V.

¹⁶⁶ As Pakhomov rightly adds sometimes a dagger and even sometimes a curved sword ware also used; "Monetnoe obrashchenie," p. 89.

¹⁶⁷ See supra, n.86.

employ a tameha, consistently on their coinage, probably indicating a Turkification of the clan within what was supposed to be an active Turkic environment. 168 These tamehas are of great assistance in the correct identification of many coins from these dynasty, coins which often are in such a worn state that other parts of the legend are illegible. The Maliks of Darband and the Shirvanshahs being of non-Turkic origin of course do not utilize such symbols on their coins. The unidentified vassal of the Ildegizids seems not to employ such markings, but there are too few known examples, and these are in poor condition, to be definitive on this.

Because of its lesser intrinsic value copper coins traditionally have been more carelessly and casually struck. One of the consequences of this has been the general neglect of mint names on the coinage of southeeastern Caucasia and Adharbayjan. There are a handful of fully attested mints for as many dynasties. All Bishkinid coins carry the mint name Ahar. Not a single specimen of the Maliks of Darband has the mint indicated, but since they controlled no other major city besides

¹⁶⁸ See supra, "Introd.," n.20; for examples see corpus.

Darband, we assume that all their numismatic output was minted there. The numismatic literature known only of one late mint name for the Shirvanshahs, namely two anonymous coins struck in the late 650°s/1250°s or 660°s/1260°s with the mint Shīrvan, 169 which at this period could mean any place in the area, but probably Shamakhiya. Pakhomov has speculated that this city would be the most likely candidate for the Shirvanshah mint of the 6th/12th century. 170 His speculation is now confirmed by a unique coin of billon (a mixture of copper or tin with some silver) struck by Minuchihr II b. Afrīdun dated 555/1160 with the mint Shamakhiya quite clear. 171 Other mints may have existed at such cities as Bākū. The only clearly attested Ildegizid mint is Ardabīl, though Pakhomov indicates that Shamkur also is found. 172 Ganja, Tabrīz and perhaps other cities also seem

¹⁶⁹ In the Hermitage, see Markov, <u>inventarny</u>, p. 401, no.123 (two examples); see also <u>infra</u>, the <u>Shirvanshah</u> corpus, no.47.

¹⁷⁰ Monetnoe obrashchenie, p. 86.

¹⁷¹ The coin is remarkable in a number of ways; see the full discussion in the Shirvanshah corpus, no.13.

¹⁷² See supra, n.159.

likely candidates. 173 We have no evidence on the unidentified mamluk of the Ildegizids, but the most likely place seems to be in Mugan. 174 If all coins in this study were not in such poor condition, so badly struck and so often clipped around the edges, it is certain that more mint names would be known and also more dates. Usually on Islamic money both mint name and date are found written in the outer margin in a fixed formula: struck in (name of city) in the year (the year written out). 175

The question of discovering and properly recording coin hoards is closely related to the general interest in scientific archeology in a given area. In this century Soviet scholars have been especially keen about the historical past of the various peoples in the Soviet Union and, therefore, have exploited the auxiliary discipline of archeology to the utmost. In southeastern Caucasia and Soviet Azerbayjan the work has been intense; the situation in Iranian Azerbayjan has not been as fortunate. The result is a lopsided and perhaps distorted body of evidence. As mentioned before the comprehensive collection of all known coin finds, hoards or single examples, by Pakhomov has resulted in a vast and rich reservoir of data for the area.

¹⁷³ See the discussion supra, in paragraph which contains n.158.

¹⁷⁴ See supra, n.157 and text there.

¹⁷⁵ duriba bi...(city) fI sanah (the year)].

This work together with the model reporting of the numismatic evidence from the medieval Armenian city of Dvin by Mushegian will serve as the major sources of information for the following discussion.

The hoards have shown that irregularly struck copper tends to remain in the area where it was originally minted. The coins of the Maliks of Darband and the Shirvanshahs, exclusively irregular, are rarely found south of the Kur and almost never near the Araxes. Irregular Georgian copper is found only in eastern Georgia, Shirvan and Darband, but rarely in western Georgia or south of the Kur. At Dvin, somewhat west on the Araxes, where some 360 Ildegizid coins were found, most of them were of the regular variety; there was not a single example of Shirvanshah or Darband coinage among the more than 1,100 found. Furthermore, in Shirvan and Darband regular Ildegizid, Georgian or Bīshkīnid copper is rare, and copper dirhams from areas outside the Caucasus extremely rare.

This indicates that first the area functioned in a rather isolated, very local economic pattern. Commercial dealings of these areas were limited and confined, or perhaps better monopolized by the Georgians and the Ildegizids.

Secondly, since the irregular copper was probably utilized

by bulk weight of stamped metal, the economy was a barter one rather than a moneyed one.

On the other hand the Georgians, the Ildegizids and the inhabitants of such commercial cities as Dvin, with a mixed Christian and Muslim population, were involved in inter-regional commerce, even if somewhat limited, as attested by the increased frequency of copper or token dirhams found in the area along the Araxes and between the Araxes and the Kur, namely Arran. In Dvin itself nineteen such copper dirhams were found: twelve Seljuqs of Iraq, four Artuqid, two Zangid and one Mangujekid; this besides the hundreds of Ildegizid and thirty-one regular Georgian coppers.

The prevalence of Ildegizid, Bishkinid, and Georgian regular copper as well as a sprinkling of irregular copper from Shirvan, Darband and the unidentified vassal in the area between the Kur and the Araxes seems to indicate that during this whole period a modus vivendi had been reached between these opposing forces in the area; a fact confirmed by the sources which represent it as the continuous battle ground between the Christian Georgians and the Muslim Ildegizids. However, the final balance of power seemed to be with the Ildegizids until the very end of the 6th/12th century, at least in eastern Arran and Muqan and along the southern bank of the Kur as far as Ganja.

The irregularly struck copper of Shirvan and Darband has much closer affinity to that of Georgia's irregular coinage than to that of the Ildegizid variety, which is the most regular of the irregular type; this, and the much larger number of Georgian bilingual irregulars, compared to Ildegizid types, found in Darband and Shirvan seem to indicate that, even though the latter areas were Muslim, they had closer ties to Georgia.

It is unfortunate that we have no comparative material south of the Araxes. If we were to find large numbers of Shirvanshah or Darband coins in cities like Ahar and Ardabil, it might change our whole notion of the relations of these areas with each other. Also it would be very instructive to know if any of the dirham type coppers of the Bishkinids were to be found in such more western areas as Mawsil, Sinjar, or Akhlat to see if these vassals of the Ildegizids conducted any trade outside of this area, independent from their overlords. The large size and regularity of these coins give reason to believe they were struck with more than just local trade in mind.

It is interesting that the Rayy excavations have turned up no Ildegizid coins; 176 since we now know that

¹⁷⁶ George C. Miles, "The Excavation Coins of Rayy," MS at the American Numismatic Society, New York.

they struck gold at the end of the century, it is ore likely that it was intended for areas of al-Jibal rather than for commercial cities along the Araxes or for Arran or Shirvan. Hamadan and Tabriz would be likely places to circulate such money. In any case there are infinite possibilities for conjecture, but until we have some definite facts on coin hoards and circulation in the cities of northwestern al-Jibal and Persian Azerbayjan, we can only guess. 177

As final observations on these coins, it should be emphasized again that all the coins in the study, even the so-called regular copper were originally poorly and carelessly minted. Through wear and comosion their condition has worsened for the irregularly struck specimens, without the aid of many, many examples, it is at times virtually impossible to complete accurately a legend. In the corpus which constitutes the remainder and core of this study, coin descriptions are often pieced together in a less than satisfactory fashion. The work, especially the readings of previous numismatists, though certainly a thankless effort, must often be corrected. At times the material is

¹⁷⁷ The material for this section was drawn from E.A. Pakhomov, Klady, op.cit., I-IX, and discussion, I, pp. 26-27; idem, "Monetnoe obrashchenie," passim; Kh. Mushegian, Denezhnoe, passim.

meagre, almost of no help; occasionally very rich, but in an historical context where the sources are unusually silent, and in a century which is extremely confused, it is the most significant bulk of data available on these dynasties and in some instances the only data. The corpus, by identifying and organizing this extremely obscure and diverse matter, and then commenting on its more uncertain aspects, tries to present for the history of the area a handy store of information.

INTRODUCTION TO THE CORPUS

The corpus is composed of five separate corpora: that of the Shirvanshahs, the Maliks of Darband, the Ildegizids, the Bishkinids and an unidentified vassal of the Ildegizids. Each will be preceded by a short historical and numismatic introduction. At the end there will be some brief observations and a genealogical chart.

The corpora are arranged chronologically by ruler, starting with the first whose coins have survived. Previous rulers for whom no coins exist will be discussed in passing, though later rulers lacking coins will be treated in their proper place but with only a short notice. The corpora formally stop with the last sovereign in each dynasty for whom coins exist; surviving members will be treated summarily at the end.

Under each ruler there will again be a chronological arrangement in so far as it is possible. Since most of the coins under consideration are undated the reigning years of the caliph and/or sultan (these will be given at their first appearance in each corpus) whose names appear on the coins, will serve as references for the earliest and latest possible date of striking. When these sources of reference are missing, style alone will be the criterion for the relative chronology.

The coins in the collective corpus have certain general characteristics. They are all copper, irregular and in very poor condition; few issues are dated, but even those which bear dates are often so irregular, badly clipped, worn or carelessly struck, that part or all of it is lacking. Almost all legends display errors in Arabic orthography or spelling.

Only the Shirvanshahs have a numismatic tradition starting before the 5th/llth century and continuing on after the first quarter of the 7th/l3th century. The Maliks of Darband and the unidentified Ildegizid vassal coined entirely within the limits of the 6th/l2th century. The Ildegizids themselves began minting circa the 530's/-1135-1146 and the Bishkinids the 590's/l190's; both stopped by 623/l226. Therefore, the bulk of the coinage is stuck in the ninety year period from the 530's/1130's to the 620's/l220's.

The different specimens in the corpus are numbered consecutively. Variations in the arrangement of a legend are indicated by letters A, B, C and so forth, after the number; coins which are not fully described in the literature or are in a condition where further classification is impossible are assigned the letters X, Y, and Z. Each year in a dated issue is given a separate number even though

the legend is otherwise invariable. Every different listing will have an assigned number followed by the metallic composition (95 per cent are copper, AR); a question mark (?) indicates the attribution is not absolutely certain. Then follows the mint name and date, the mames of the reigning caliph, the Great Seljuq sultan and the Seljuq sultan of Iraq; all coins listed under a ruler carry his name unless otherwise stated. The description proper gives the obverse side first, by which is meant in this study that side which carries the name of the striking authority, the design, if any, around the central field, the legend and marginal inscriptions. The reverse follows in the same fashion. After which the references to all known existing coins are listed, with the published literature first in chronological order and then the unpublished specimens; the diameter, weight and thickness are indicated, when available, as well as other pertinent remarks.

After each issue or series of similar issues, there is a discussion of the numismatic problems, i.e. doubtful attribution, misattribution. Finally, there is an historical commentary wherever the occasion warrants it.

CHAPTER THREE

THE SHIRVANSHAH CORPUS

I. INTRODUCTION

The early Shirvanshahs have been traditionally divided into two dynasties, the Yazīdids from the 2nd/8th to the 5th/llth century, and the so-called Kasranids from

See supra, "Chap. Two," n.15 for complete details and references.

²See supra, "Chap. One," the text at n. 142; also n. 46, and "Introd.," n. 22. The term was first used by B. Dorn, "Versuch," op.cit., p. 550, using as his source Ghaffari's Jahan-ara (10th/16th century; MSS B.M., Or.141, f.157a, Cambridge, Browne, Glo (13), f.76a; ref. from Minorsky, Sharvan, p. 134) in which the Shirvanshah genealogy is given as Minuchihr b. Kasran b. Kavus b. Shahriyan b. Garshasf b. Afrīdun b. Faramarz (read: Farīburz, cf. Minorsky, ibid.) b. Salar b. Yazid b. Mazyad...back to Anushirvan the Just; ibid., text, p. 27, trans., p. 129, Ghaffari was in turn used by Munejjim-bashi in his Jamic al-duwal; ibid. This terminology was continued by Khanykov, Mel. asiat., III, op.cit., Salemann, op.cit., Markov, Inventarnyi, and Zambaur, Manuel. As for the reliability of Ghaffari Minorsky says, " It is a meritorious work, though its author on reaching the period of the 'Kasranids'...is entirely at sea," ibid., p. 134.
As will be stated in the text above the numismatic evidence does not support a Kasran, but indicates clearly that Minuchihr b. Afridun b. Fariburz b. Salar etc., is correct, leaving out the series Kasran b. Kavus b. Shahriyar b. Garshasf, for whom there is no other testimony. Pakhomov, Kratkii, p. 32, suggests that Kasran might have been another name for Afridun; Minorsky, ibid., p. 134, adds, "perhaps a posthumous title?" For further details see Pakhomov, ibid., pp. 26-27; H. Hasan, Falaki, p. 4, n. 1; Minorsky, <u>ibid</u>., pp. 10, 132-134:

the 5th/11th to the late 7th/13th century. The numismatic evidence demonstrates that there was no break between the two branches, and, therefore, they are one. In his pioneer study B. Dorn began the genealogical table with Abu-'1-Muzaffar Minuchihr Akhsatan b. Kasran.4 Somewhat later Markov headed the Hermitage Catalogue with an issue of Afridun b. Minuchihr as no. 1. but then finding a coin with the name Minuchihr b. Fariburs and not knowing exactly how to fit it into the accepted genealogy, created a no. 0 without explanation. 5 Zambaur began his chart with Minuchihr. but separated Akhsatan, following Markov presumably, as the son of Minuchihr, but retained Kasran as the latter's father.6 Pakhomov, working with coins from Caucasian hoards, totally revised the early genealogy as follows: Minuchihr b. Kasran became Minuchihr II b. Afridun, and Afridun and his brother Minuchihr I were correctly identified as sons of Fariburz b. Salar.7

³See the coins under FarIburz b. Salar; Corpus nos. 3A, 4A-B, 5B, 7A-C.

Dorn, <u>ibid.</u>, p. 555; cf. Pakhomov, <u>ibid.</u>, p. 26 and Z. Bunilatov, "Nekotorye dopolnehiia," <u>op.cit.</u>, p. 47.

⁵Markov, Inventarnyi, p. 394, Suppl., p. 932.

⁶Zambaur, <u>Manuel</u>, p. 182.

Pakhomov, ibid., pp. 45-46; cf., Buniiatov, p. 48.

Curiously Pakhomov did not complete the connection between the two parts of the dynasty. At the time of his Excursus the coins of Fariburz with the added b. Salar were not yet known; also he may not have had access to the Tarikh al-Bab as preserved by Münejjim-bashi. It was V. Minorsky who from the translation of the sections of the Tairikh on Shirvan signalled the cohesion in the two branches. "One fact is now certain, namely that there was no interruption between the earlier Yazidids and the later 'Kasranids' the only difference between them being the degree of their iranicisation: for a long time the dynasty had been cut off from Arab territories and of necessity had been intermarrying with local families." Minorsky unfortunately did not go a step further and print a complete dynastic table bringing together both elements of the dynasty. Recent works still retain the usage "Kasranid" without demonstrating an awareness of the uninterrupted continuity in the genealogy. 10

⁸Of course it was Pakhomov himself who published these coins. Also note that <u>Excursus</u> and <u>Kratkii</u> refer to the same study.

Minorsky, Sharvan, p. 134. Some of the information was already reported by Minorsky in his earlier study based on the Ta'rikh, i.e., Studies, p. 58.

¹⁰ A. Ali-Zade, Social'no-ekonomicheskaia i politicheskaia istoriia Azer. XIII-XIV vv., op.cit., esp. pp. 351-375; Bunilatov, op.cit., pp. 47-52. The last is curious since the Russian trans. of Sharvan was published in 1963.

This corpus also begins with Fariburz b. Salar and neglects the earlier part of the dynasty. There is no justifiable reason except convenience. Before Fariburz the dynasty goes back some 275 years to Yazid b. Mazyad; only a few rare coins have been discovered for five of the seventeen rulers. There are dirhams for Khalid b. Yazid, 11 Haytham b. Muhammad b. Haytham, 12 Yazid b. Ahmad, 13 Abū Mansūr Alī b. Yazid, 14 and Salar b. Yazid. 15 Perhaps then the corpus should have started with Salar b. Yazid or even Alī b. Yazid, from whom there is an almost

Vasmer, Chronologie der arabischen Statthalter von Armenien unter den Abbasiden von as-Saffach bis zur Krönung Aschots I. 750-887, Studien zur armenischen Geschichte, Vol. V (Vienna, 1931), pp. 70-71, 87-88, cf., Minorsky, Sharvan, p. 56.

¹²Struck at Darband, 330/942, Markov, <u>Inventarnyi</u>, p. 307. The usually thorough Minorsky apparently missed this reference saying, "The scarcity of information on Haytham is conspicuous," <u>Sharvan</u>, p. 58. The coin should clear up much of the confusion surrounding the events in al-Bab in 330/942 which he tried to unravel, <u>ibid</u>., p. 59.

¹³ With the caliph al-Qadir, Markov, 1909(?), reference from Minorsky, Sharvan, p. 64. I have not been able to trace the reference, perhaps in a supplement of the <u>Inventarnyi</u>.

¹⁴cAll's dates are 425/1033-435/1043. The dirham was found in 1958 near Shamakhi, Azerbayjan; Pakhomov, Klady, IX, H2109, the coin is described and carries the title Shirvanshah.

¹⁵ Pakhomov, "Arab and Caspian-Iranian feudal lords of Adharbayjan in the eleventh-fourteenth century," In Memoriam N.Y. Marr (Moscow, 1938), p. 423, reference from Minorsky, Sharvan, pp. 65 and 135, n. 2.

of the other dynasties in this work fall within the period between the Seljuq and Mongol invasions, it has been practical to start the Shirvanshahs corpus with Fariburz.

Akhsatān III b. Farīburz III who ruled in the mid-7th/13th century. The dynasty continues to the end of the century and after a break again in the 8th/14th century. ¹⁶ The establishment of the genealogy, though still full of uncertainties, has been principally the result of numismatic investigation. The most interesting periods numismatically are those of Minuchihr II, for whom there is in the corpus a unique coin in the American Numismatic Society dated 555/1160 with the mint Shamākhīya, and the years during the caliphate of al-Nāṣir (575/1180-622/1225) when there is great confusion in the Shirvānshāh state which seems to have fragmented into a feudal system. ¹⁷

¹⁶ Pakhomov, Excursus, pp. 43-46, repeated in Minorsky, Sharvan, pp. 135-136. There is also a later dynasty of Shirvanshahs ruling from the 8th/14th to the end of 10th/16th century, after which Persian governors rule to the 11th/17th century and a final dynasty in the 12th/18th and early 13th/-19th centuries; see Zambaur, pp. 182-183.

¹⁷ See infra, n. 89 and the corpus under Jalal al-Din Sultanshah.

Except for silver and billon issues minted up to the mid-6th/l2th century, the coinage is exclusively copper of the irregular variety. Only three issues have the mint place and date, two of Minuchihr II (see <u>supra</u>) and another of Akhastān III b. Farīburz (also <u>supra</u>). The reigning caliph and the Great Seljuq sultan appear by name. But after the mid-6th/l2th century the Seljuq sultan of Iraq is mentioned only by title and never by name.

In this work the form Shirvan has been used throughout as opposed to Sharvan. Minorsky, who earlier used Shirvan (Mudud, passim), justified his use of the Sharvan form on the basis of the early sources Samcani and Yaqut, on a pun in Khaqani on Sharvan - Shirvan, and an article by Sacidan Nafisi. H. Hasan, citing the passage from Khaqani as well as another from Falaki, considers Sharvan a variant, using Shirvan himself. One of the last coins in this corpus has the mint name Shirvan; a 5th/llth century Armenian colophon uses Sirvan. Since the tradition is not clear, the pronunciation closest to the modern has been

¹⁸ Sharvan, p. 15, n. 3, for citations from the sources and the article, "Sharvan-Shirvan," in Armaghan, Farvardin, 1327/1948, pp. 23-32.

¹⁹ Falaki, op.cit., pp. 2-3, where the passages are given in the original. In general I have followed Hasan on the vocalization of the names of the Shirvanshahs.

²⁰ See <u>supra</u>, "Chap. One," n. 78.

chosen.

At the end of the corpus there will be some observations and a genealogical table.

II. THE CORPUS

A. Farīburz b. Sālār (455/1063 to 487/1094-489/1096)

1A-C. AR. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Qa'im (422/1031-467/1075) and Seljuq sultan Alp Arslan (455/1063-465/1072).

The coins are only described as issues of a Shirvanshah whose name is not visible and containing the caliph's and sultan's names.

Pakhomov, <u>Klady</u>, VIII, p. 112, <u>k vvp</u>. VII, H1783, nos. 1,2,4; no. 1 (d=23.0-23.5 mm., t=1.6 mm., w=7.10 gr.), no. 2 (one side has a three-cornered design inscribed in a circle with dots in the center and at the edges traces of the formula of faith) (d=21.0-23.0 mm., t=approx. 1.4 mm., w=3.91 gr.), no.4 (the reading Alp Arslan is not certain; one side has the formula of faith circularly displayed) (d=17.0-18.0 mm., t=1.5-2.0 mm., w=4.43 gr.).

The three coins might be of the same issue or of totally different issues. I have placed them together for convenience since they were found in the same hoard.

Though the name FarIburz is not visible on these coins there is now every reason to accept them as such, because of Pakhomov's complete revision of the dynastic

table of the Shirvanshahs. 21 Yet even in this work Fariburz's dates are given as 467/1074-485/1092 to 487/1094-511/1117. Minorsky reproduced this table with the error in the first date, though he added certain corrections based primarily on his studies of the Tairikh al-Bab. "[Salar] died on Sunday, 18 Safar 455/20 February 1063 after having ruled some fifteen years. After him ruled his heir-apparent Fariburz b. Sallar b. Yazid, in whose charge all (the) affairs were even in his father's time."22 It is curious that Minorsky in correcting Pakhomov's table says, "we now know of Fariburz I...that he succeeded his father in 455/1063; "23 for Zambaur had already listed the beginning of Fariburz's rule at circa 455/1063.24 Since Alp Arslan began his reign in the same year, all the above coins must be ascribed to FarIburz and must be dated during the ten years of Alp Arslan's reign.

2A. AR. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Qa'im and Seljuq sultan....

²¹ Excursus, op.cit., pp. 45-46.

²²Minorsky, ibid., Arabic text, p. 11, trans., p. 34.

²³<u>Ibid.</u>, p. 136.

²⁴ Manuel, p. 182.

Coins 2A-C. are described in Russian; transliteration to Arabic is mine.

Obv. (the center is occupied by an ornament, around it the formula of faith).

Rev. (in a linear border)

There is no god but Allah.

al-Qa¹im bi-amrillah.

[The Sul]tan Supreme.

Pakhomov, <u>Klady</u>, VIII, H1968, no.1 (d=19.5-20.5 mm., t=1.2-1.9 mm., w=4.81 gr.) (circular margins worn).

2B. AR. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Qa'im and Seljuq sultan....

Obv. (four ovals surrounding a central dot). Around it are fragments of the confession of faith, other inscriptions being worn.

al-Qā'im bi-amrillāh. والسلطهان المعسم [The Sult] an Supreme.

Pakhomov, <u>Klady</u>, VIII, H1970 (d=up to 14.00 mm., t=approx. 1.0 mm., no weight given).

2C. AR. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Qa'im and Seljuq sultan....

Obv. (in the center of a circle, a smaller circle made of fairly large dots),

There are fragments of a legend circularly around this.

Rev.

victory (<u>pobeda</u>) (?)

Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah

al-Qa'im bi-amrillah.

... The Sultan the ...

Pakhomov, <u>Klady</u>, VIII, Hl969 (the silver is greyish; d=19.0-20 mm., t=approx. 2.0 mm., w=6.21 gr.).

3A. AR. No mint name or date. Without the name of caliph or sultan visible.

... المادل ... [Muhammad is the Messen]ger of Allah t ... المادل ... the Just...

[FarIbur] z son of Salar.

Rev. (four-pointed rosette interlaced with two lines of dots)

legends worn.

Pakhomov, <u>Klady</u>, VIII, H1968, no. 2 (d=20.5 mm., t=1.0-1.2 mm., no weight given).

3B. AR. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Qa'im.

Obv. (four-pointed rosette in the petals (?) on which rest the legend).

The Just نريبرز FarIburz

Rev.

Presumably the caliph's name appears.

Pakhomov, <u>Klady</u>, VIII, <u>k vvp</u>. VII, H1783, no. 3 (d=20.0-20.5 mm., t=approx. 1.4 mm., w=5.25 gr.).

All coins in nos. 2 and 3 should be regarded as issues under sultan Alp Arslan, that is dating from 455/1063-465/1072. There is the possibility that some may have been struck under sultan Malikshah during the two years, 465/1072-467/1074, when al-Qa'im and Malikshah were both ruling.

On coin no. 3A we find very clearly Far Iburz b. Salar, thus establishing the connection link between the 5th/llth-7th/l2th century Shirvanshahs and the earlier part as discussed above. 25

There is much interesting material in <u>Ta'rīkh al-Bāb</u> on the paying of tribute by Farīburz. In 437/1045(?) the Shirvānshāh Qubād b. Yazīd built a strong wall of hewn stones around Yazīdiya (Shamākhī) and fixed on it iron gates through fear of the Oghuz Turks. Later in 459/1066 the Turks

²⁵ see supra, nn. 1 and 3.

²⁶Minorsky, <u>Sharvan</u>, text p. 10, trans. p. 33.

entered and looted Sharvan. Fariburz spent much money to make the Turks leave, but in the same year the Turk QarategIn came and laid siege to YazIdiya.27 In the next year Fariburz spent 6,000 dinars for the capture of his paternal uncle Mamlan b. Yazīd who was in league with Qara-tegIn.28 In the same year Fariburz is visited by the representatives of the Turk El-Basan (?) "...to collect the tribute which he had agreed to pay, namely 30,000 dinars yearly, in order to ward off the evil of the Turks."29 Since we have absolutely no evidence of gold being minted in this period in Adharbayjan or the Caucasus, perhaps Seljuq or Byzantine gold served to pay these sums. 30 Toward the end of this same year, 459/1067, Sultan Alp Arslan proceed to Arran. Fariburs came forward with presents and offerings and accompanied him on his campaign of 460/1068.31 Surely some of the above coins were struck in the name of Sultan Alp Arslan for the payment of these various tributes.

²⁷<u>Ibid.</u>, text p. 12, trans. pp. 35-36.

²⁸<u>Ibid.</u>, text p. 13, trans. p. 36.

²⁹El-Basan is referred to as the master of QazvIn and was probably like the other Oghuz of this period in the service of the Seljuqs, <u>ibid</u>., text p. 13, trans. p. 37.

³⁰Coin hoards have turned up much Byzantine gold, but little Seljuq.

^{31 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, text p. 14, trans. p. 38.

4A. AR. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Qa'im and sultan Malikshah (465/1072-487/1092).

No further description except "FarIburz b. Sālār."

Pakhomov, <u>Kladv</u>, VIII, <u>k vvp</u>. VII, H1783, no. 7

(d=18.5=21.0 mm., t=0.6=1.0 mm., w=2.49 gr.).

4B. AR. No mint name or date. With either caliph al-Qa'im or al-Muqtadī (1:67/1075-487/1094) and with sultan Malikshāh.

No further description except "Fariburz b. Salar."

Pakhomov, <u>Klady</u>, VIII <u>k vvp</u>. VII, H1783, no. 5 (d=24.5-27.5 mm., t=0.6-0.9 mm, w=4.51 gr.).

Assuming 4B. to be an issue under al-Qa'im, the coins must date from the two years between beginning of Malikshah's reign and the death of al-Qa'im, i.e. 465/1072-467/1074.

5. AR(base). No mint name or date. With caliph al-Muqtadi and sultan Malikshah.

Obv. (in the center of a rosette in two lines)

FarIburz عريبوز

Rev.

There is no god but Allāh, Muḥammad is the Messenger of Allāh.

al-Muqtadī bi-amrillāh

The Sultān, Malik
shāh

Pakhomov, Excursus, p. 28; a general description with no references to where such coins are to be found; cf., also H. Hasan, Falaki, p. 4(A) with ref. to Pakhomov.

5B. AR. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Muqtadī and sultan Malikshāh (?).

No further description except FarIburz b. Salar.

Pakhomov, <u>Klady</u>, <u>VIII</u>, <u>k</u> <u>vvp</u>. VII, H1783, no. 6 (the reading of Malikshah is doubtful; (d=24.0-25.0 mm., t=approx. 1.0 mm., w=4.88 gr.).

6. AR. No mint name or date. With caliph al-MuqtadI.

What I assume to be the obverse is described as
having two birds, facing each other (?) (obrashchenve
drug k drugu), and between them a flower (?). The
reverse presumably bears the caliph's name.

Pakhomov, <u>Klady</u>, VIII, <u>k vvp</u>. VII, H1783, no. 11 (Pakhomov guesses about the flower; d=21.5-23.0 mm., t=1.2-1.5 mm., w=6.22 gr.).

Though there is no Shirvanshah mentioned the coin is presumed to be an issue of Fariburz, who was the only ruler during the whole caliphate of al-Muqtadi. One must, however, consider, with this coin and even the earlier issues with al-Qaim and sultan Alp Arslan, in which Fariburz is not specifically mentioned, the possibility that Afridun b. Fariburz who was on-and-off ruler of al-Bab (Darband) from sometime before Ramadan 460/July 1068 to 467/1074, also

struck coins.32

7A-C. AR. No mint name or date. With sultan Malikshah.

Obv.

No description except "FarIburz b. Salar."

Rev. (in a four-pointed rosette made of two lines interlaced with dots)

The Supreme

ملت Malik-

... shāh...

Pakhomov, Klady, VIII, k vvp. VII, H1783, no. 8 (first and part of fourth line worn; d=21.5-22.5 mm., t=1.0-1.5 mm., w=5.35 gr.), no.9 (only first two lines of reverse visible; d=22.0-24.5 mm., t=8.5-0.6 mm., w=2.87 gr.), no.10 (third line of reverse worn; d=17.5-23.5 mm., t=0.8-1.0 mm., w=3.45 gr.; "irregular").

Coins under nos. 5-7 can all be broadly dated between 467/1074, the first year al-MuqtadI's reign, and 485/1092, the death of Malikshah. No. 5 is placed first only because

July 1068 Afridun son of Fariburz left the citadel of al-Bab and returned to Shirvan. Later in 461/1068-9 Fariburz captured the citadel and sent Afridun as governor; after 464/1071 Afridun became the autonomous governor. Finally in 467/1074 al-Bab was granted as ictac to the sultan's lieutenant Sau-Tegin, amir of the two Iraqs, and Fariburz was forced to give up claim to al-Bab and his son Afridun presumably returned home.

of the completed legend. One might justify placing it last in the series, because according to Pakhomov it is made of base silver of a leadish color. Since the subsequent issues of Fariburz, to be discussed below, are also of base silver, billon and finally copper, we may see in coin no. 5 the beginning of this debasing process. Indeed it seems to coincide with the beginning of the so-called silver crisis in the Middle East. 33

During the reign of Malikshah Farlburz was forced to pay a considerable tribute. We have already discussed how in 460/1068, when Alp Arslan came to Arran, Farlburz came forward with offerings and then joined his campaign. When Alp Arslan returned from this campaign of 460/1068, probably in Georgia, the people of al-Bab complained to him of the Shirvanshah. The sultan imprisoned the latter, but then released him, "but imposed on him a great sum of money to be paid yearly." It is mentioned again when Darband was lost to Farlburz in 467/1074-5. "After this, the sharvanshah, despaired of occupying al-Bab, remained in his dominions and paid the yearly tribute imposed on him to the sultan's

³³ See supra, "Chap. Two," section II D.

³⁴ Minorsky, ibid., text p. 14, trans. p. 38.

treasury."35 We know the size of this tribute from al-Bundari, "when Malikshah crossed over to Arran there came before him the king Fariburz, ruler of Shirwan, who had previously offered resistance; and Fariburz covenanted to pay 70.000 dinars (annually) to the royal treasury. But from time to time remissions were allowed in that sum till it stood at 40,000 dinars."36 Much the same testimony is found in the Akhbar al-dawlat al-saljuqiya: "when (Malikshah) happened to be passing through Arran, he sent (someone) to the sharvanshah. The latter submitted to him...and (the Sultan) imposed on him a yearly contribution of 70,000 dinars."37 This expedition of Malikshah's has been established at about 471/1078-9.38 A final reference to this tribute is found in Nasavi's Sirat al-Sultan Jalal al-Din. In 622/1225 the Khwarazmshah Jalal al-Din demanded of Garshasp b. Farrukhzad a tribute equivalent to "the sum

^{35&}lt;u>1bid.</u>, text p. 16, trans. p. 41.

³⁶ Histoire des Seldjoucides de l'Iraq, ed. T. Houtsma (Leyden, 1889), p. 140, Turkish tran., pp. 132-133; cf. Hasan, Falaki, p. 5, text excerpted in n. 1 with trans. (used above); Minorsky, ibid., p. 68; Ali-Zade, op.cit., p. 355 where n. 1 p. 40 for p. 140. Khaqani while confirming that Fariburz went before Malikshah, says that he went to Ispahan for the visit, Hasan, p. 5; also, Minorsky, p. 68.

³⁷Ed. M. Iqbal, p. 73, cf. Minorsky, ibid., p. 68, quotation exact.

^{38&}lt;sub>M.</sub> Yinanç, <u>Türkiye tarihi Selçuklular devri</u> (Istanbul, 1944), I (<u>Anadolu'nun fethi</u>), p. 111, n. 1.

previously fixed to be paid in the treasury of Malikshāhⁿ by Farīburz.³⁹ Certainly some of the coins above were minted to pay this tribute; one would expect that many more of these will turn up even in areas outside of Adharbayjān.

8A. AR (base). No mint name or date. With caliph al-Mustazhīr (489/1094-512/1118).

Obv. (in the center of a rosette)

The Malik

نريبرز FarIburz.

Rev.

There is no god but Allah, Muhammad is the Messcrier of Allah.

al-Mustazhir

billah.

Pakhomov, <u>Excursus</u>, p. 29 (described as a general type rather than a specific coin; "lead colored"); Hasan, <u>Falaki</u>, p. 5, no. II (because of Hasan's comment "recently discovered," the coin(s) are probably in the Hermitage).

8B. AR. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Mustazhir.

³⁹Ed. 0. Houdas, Arabic text, p. 175; the tribute is described as being 100,000 dinars.

Obv. (rosette of interlaced lines)
Center and circular legends illegible.

Rev.

[محاصد ر[سون الله] Muha]mmad is the Me[ssenger of Allah
al-Mustaz[hir]
billah.

Pakhomov, <u>Klady</u>, IX, H2llo (all that remains of the reverse legend; d=12.0-13.5 mm., "small," t=1.0-1.1 mm., w=1.27 gr.).

These coins are probably to be dated to the two years 487/1094-489/1096. We have no testimony on the death of Fariburz. Pakhomov, and Minorsky after him, assumed sometime between 487/1094 and 511/1117. However, an inscription, seemingly neglected by Azerbayjani scholars, carries the name of his son Minuchihr and the date 489/1094.40

An exact drawing of it is reproduced with a caption which states that it is a construction inscription from the time of the Shirvanshah Kasranid Minuchihr I; Istoriia Azerbaidzhana, Vol. I (Baku, 1958), p. 141. The last three lines of the inscription clearly read "Minuchihr b. Fariburz in the year 489." This does not mean that Minuchihr was actually the Shirvanshah, nor that his father was dead, but there is a strong likelihood of it. Furthermore, in the correspondence of Mascud b. Namdar, Fariburz can be traced to the late 480's/1090's, but after the chronology becomes unreliable; V. Minorsky and C. Cahen, "Le recueil Transcaucasien," op.cit. (supra, "Chap. One," n. 32), cf., Minorsky, Sharvan, p. 68.

9X.(?)AR. No mint name or date.

Nothing legible except part of the word sultan.

Pakhomov, <u>Klady</u>, IX, H2108, four examples (very small pieces ranging d=9.5-12.0 mm., t=0.7-1.2 mm., w=0.34-0.91 gr.).

These coins could belong to any of the issues of Fariburz or even his successors.

B. <u>Minuchihr</u> b. FarIburz (487/1094-489/1096 to 489/1096-511/1117)

There is a small copper coin with Minuchihr on the obverse and Malikshah on the reverse which Pakhomov has tentatively attributed to Minuchihr I. He further asserted that the sultan on the reverse is Malikshah II b. Barkiyaruq ho ruled in 498/1105, and, therefore, the coin is from that year. In the present study the coin is reattributed to Minuchihr II b. Afridun; the full description and commentary will be found under that ruler, infra, Section D.

10. AR. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Mustazhir and sultan Muhammad b. Malikshah (498/1105-511/1117).

⁴¹ See supra, "Chap. Two," Section III, the first paragraph, for a full discussion.

⁴²pakhomov, Excursus, p. 30.

Obv. (in a cartouche)

The malik

Minuchihr منوجهر

بن فريبرز the son of FarIburz.

Rev.

[Munammlad is the Messenger of [Alla

[al-Musta]zhir billah

[sult]an Muhammad...

Markov, Inventarnyi (Supplement), p. 932, no. 0 (sic); see Pakhomov, Excursus, p. 30 (reference to Markov); Pakhomov, "Shirvanshakh Shavanshakh," Iz.Az.A.K. (Baku, 1925), p. 69 (ref. to Markov, p. 934 (sic, read p. 932), no. 0); Hasan, Falaki, p. 7, with the curious remark "a coin recently acquired by the Ermitage Museum," but no reference to Markov's catalogue; Minorsky, Sharvan, p. 68.

This coin is to be dated between the overlapping years of the reigns of sultan Muhammad and al-Mustazhir, i.e., 498/1104-511/1117. H. Hasan who was aware of this coin, but not of the inscription of Minuchihr of 489/1096 (supra, n. 40) came to the following erroneous conclusions. "The caliph al-Mustazhir ruled from 487 to 512 A.H., and Sultan Muhammad b. Malikshah, the Seljuq from 498 to 511 A.H.; therefore, in 498 A.H. Minuchihr I was the Shah of Shirvan." But before even stating this

⁴³ Falaki, p. 7, italics Hasan's.

"Further, as the caliph al-Mustazhir ruled 487-512 A.H. and as Minuchihr I b. Farīburz I was the Shirvānshāhs in 498 A.H., it is obvious that Farīburz I must have died between 487 and 498 A.H." Iogically, coin no. 10 only indicates that Minuchihr could have been Shirvānshāh at any time during the thirteen year period and that Farīburz could have died in any year up to 511/1117. We know now of course that Minuchihr was ruling already by 489/1096 and assume that his father had died (supra, n. 40).

C. Afridum b. Fariburz (post 489/1096-514/1120)

Fariburz had at least two sons, Minuchihr, who is known only through the numismatic and epigraphal evidence given above, and Afridun, mentioned often in the sources. The Georgian Chronicle reports that Afridun was killed in a battle against Darband in 514/1120. As mentioned earlier (n. 32) the Ta'rikh al-Bāb says that between 460/1068 and 467/1074 Afridun tried to secure himself as governor of

^{4&#}x27;rIbid., p. 5, italics Hasan's.

^{45&}lt;sub>M.</sub> Brosset, <u>Histoire de la Géorgie</u>, trans. 1/1, p. 360; cf., <u>Pakhomov</u>, <u>Excursus</u>, p. 31; Minorsky, <u>Sharvan</u>, p. 68; <u>Hasan</u>, <u>Falaki</u>, p. 8.

al-Bāb, but that it was finally awarded as an ictāc to a Seljuq lieutenant. It is possible that during the internecine wars after the death of Malikshāh and the general chaos which accompanied them, the Shirvānshāhs tried once again to take control of Darband and that Afrīdūn again became ruler there. Therefore, it would be conceivable that after the death of Farīburz, Afrīdūn ruled in one part of the Shirvānshāhs' domain, al-Bāb, while his brother Minūchihr ruled in another, perhaps Shamākhi. According to the Ta'rīkh al-Bāb, Farīburz was succeeded by his son Afrīdūn, but Minorsky believed this to be an addition by Münejjim-bashī in the late llth/l6th century and not part of the original, which, since Farīburz was still alive, ends its narrative prior to 489/1096. Thus far no numismatic evidence has been discovered for Afrīdūn to help solve the problem. 48

⁴⁶At the end of the 6th/llth and the first quarter of the 7th/13th we also seem to have more than one Shirvanshah ruling at a time, see supra. n. 17 and infra, n. 81.

⁴⁷ See, n. 32, for more details from the Ta'rikh al-Bab on Afridun.

⁴⁸⁰f course if Pakhomov was right on his tentative attribution of a copper coin to Minuchihr I with a striking in 498/1105, then this whole discussion must be revised; see supra, Section B, and infra, under coin no 12.

D. Minuchihr II b. Afridum (514/1120-circa 555/1160)

11A. AR (base). No mint name or date. With caliph al-MuqtafI (530/1136-555/1160) and sultan....

Obv. (rosette?)

The <u>malik</u>
المك المك Minuchihr the son of A
فريدون frIdun

Rev. (rosette?)

Hermitage Museum, H. Hasan, Falaki, p. 9 ("These coins, recently discovered... are of silver, small value, and defective."); Minorsky, Sharvan, p. 69 (not described). The caliph's name should be al-Muqtafi li-armillah.

llx. AR (base). No mint name or date. With caliph al-MuqtafI and sultan....

Several varieties, described as having various types of rosettes and inscriptions differently arranged.

A generalized legend similar to llA is given, but without arrangement. The word "al-sultan" is in the last line of the reverse. Original marginal legends have not been preserved.

Pakhomov, Excursus, p. 32; the correct al-Muqtafi liamirillah is given.

The coins fall broadly within the caliphate of al-MuqtafI (530/ll35-555/ll60); of course if an example is found with the sultan's name intact, we could narrow the period considerably. Their silver content would suggest a date closer to 530/ll35 since this metal is gradually replaced by billon and copper toward mid-century. It is strange that no coins have survived for almost the whole of the first quarter of the 6th/l2th century.

12.(?) AE. No mint name. (547/1152-3). With Seljuq sultan of Iraq Malikshah b. Mahmud (547/1152-3).

Obv.

Minuchihr سنوجهر

Rev.

سنت Malik-

shah شاه

Pakhomov, Excursus, p. 30 (a small copper; no provenance in this general description); Pakhomov makes the following "probable" attribution. "Perhaps small copper coins were also struck by Minuchihr with his name without title on one side and Malikshah, probably the second (about 498 A.H.-1104/5), on the other.").

If for the moment we assume Pakhomov's attribution correct, then because of Malikshah b. Barkiyaruq's short reign the coin would date from 498/1104-5. Though H. Hasan does not refer directly to this coin, his conclusions about the death of Fariburz and the reign of Minuchihr I are untenable without it (supra, under no. 10).

There are certain difficulties with this assumption. First, the coin is copper and not silver. It would be the first copper issue of the Shirvanshahs which has come down to us. Under Minuchihr II b. Afridun we begin to see the appearance of billon and later by mid-century a full copper coinage. Thus, from the point of view of the metal used the attribution becomes suspect. Secondly, and perhaps more seriously, the events around the sultanate of Malikshah b. Barkiyaruq are not very encouraging to conjecture that he is the Seljuq sultan referred to on this coin. In 498/1104 sultan Barkiyarug b. Malikshah (487/1094-498/1104) who lay dying in Burujird 18 farsakhs from Hamadan, "summoned his amīrs and declared to them his intention to nominate his son Malikhshah (sic) a boy of four years and eight months as his successor."49 The sultan died on 12 Rabic II 498/2 January 1105 and five days later, on 12 Rabic II 498/7 January 1105, Malikshah, escorted by the amirs, arrived in Baghdad where the Khuthe was read confirming him in office. 50 The next month, 23 Jumada I 498/11 February 1105, Muhammad b. Malikshah b. Barkiyaruq after attempts by supporters of the

⁴⁹M. Sanaullah, op.cit., p. 112, citing Bundari, p. 83 Mirkhwand, p. 161, and I.A., p. 158.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 113, 12 Rabic II fell in 1105 not in 1104 as Sanaullah reports; he also began Muhammad's reign in 1104.

latter to resist Muhammad came to nothing. 51

Therefore, Malikshah b. Barkiyaruq's short reign lasted for some 35 days. It is highly improbable that in this brief period coins could have been struck. The distance from Baghdad to Shirvan was great; the position of the young sultan too precarious. We must, therefore, look for another candidate to whom to ascribe this coin. There are two possibilities for the coincidence of a Minuchihr and a Malikshah. We cannot accept as one Minuchihr b. Farīburz and Malikshah b. Alp Arslan, since the former struck coins in the time of al-Mustazhir whose reign began after the death of the great sultan.

First, if we leave the Shirvanshahs for a moment and turn to their neighbors, the Shaddadids of Ani, we find a Minuchihr b. Abul-Aswar (who ruled from after 457/1064 to circa 512/1118). We know that in 479/1086 Malikshah the great confirmed the rights of Minuchihr to govern Ani. 53
This small copper coin with the names of Minuchihr and

⁵¹ Zambaur, Manuel, p. 221; Sanaullah, op.cit., pp. 113-116, using Ibn-Athir, X, pp. 160-161.

⁵² Minorsky, Studies in Caucasian History, p. 80 ff.

^{53 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 81, n. 4, citing St. Martin, <u>Mémoires</u> historiques et géographiques sur l'Arménie (Paris, 1817-1819), Vol. I, p. 134.

Malikshah could have been struck in Ani to commemorate that occasion. If our assumptions are correct this would be the first example of money struck by the Shaddadids of Ani.

The second and more likely possibility for this coin, especially if Pakhomov, though hesitant about its attribution, felt it to be a Shirvanshah issue by its texture and general appearance, would be to ascribe it to Minuchihr II. During this long reign there was another Malikshah (b. Mahmud), Seljuq sultan of Iraq for three or four months at the end of 547/1153.54 One might argue against the possibility of coins in Malikshah b. Mahmud's name during this short period on the grounds that three or four months is not much longer than the month or so of Malikshah b. Barkiyaruq's reign. However, the former was sultan of Iraq in Hamadan and not Baghdad, a city much closer to Adharbayjan and Shirvan. Furthermore, apparently Muhammad b. Mahmud, his brother and eventual successor, did not seem to oppose Malikshah. 55 Finally, and

The al-Athir, IX, 32; cf., Luther, op.cit., p. 26, who says Malikshah's rule began just after the death of sultan Mascud 1 Rajab 547/2 October 1152, following Ibn al-Athir, IX, 31, but citing other sources; Zambaur, Manuel, p. 221, following Ibn Khallikan, III, 335, gives the date 11 Jumada/13 September for Mascud's death. Muhammad b. Mahmud became sultan sometime in Shawwal 547/December-January 1152-3 or a bit later, Iuther, pp. 29 - 31. Thus the short rule was of three to five months duration. Houtsma says three months, "Muhammed b. Mahmud," IA.

⁵⁵ Luther, p. 27.

most important, Malikshah and his uncle Sulaymanshah b. Muhammad b. Malikshah, were both supported by the amirs of the north and northwest, especially Shams al-Din Ildegiz. who was now gaining ascendency over the Seljuqs of Iraq from his base of power in Adharbayjan, against Muhammad b. Mahmud who was at the time in the south in Khuzistan. amirs remained hostile towards Muhammad even after he became the sultan in Shawwal 547/December 1152-January 1153 or perhaps in very early 548.56 We know that Ildegiz had close relations with the Caucasian areas including Arran and Ganja. 57 and it is not unlikely that in the adjoining region of Shirvan his influence was felt. Whatever all the details may be, it is quite plausible that Minuchihr II b. Afridun struck coins in honor of Malikshah b. Mahmud, the sultan in Hamadan. Therefore, without having actually seen the coin, and for the moment putting aside an attribution outside the realm of Shirvan, i.e., the Shaddadids of Ani, this coin will be cautiously attributed as an issue of Minuchihr II struck in late 547/1152-3 or early 548/1153.

⁵⁶ Ibid., for an interesting discussion of the whole problem, ibid., "Malikshah and the Succession Crisis," pp. 26-44.

⁵⁷ In 543/1148-9 Ildegiz is referred to as ruler of Ganja and Arran, Ibn al-Athir, XI, 87; cf. C. Dowsett, "The Albanian Chronicle of Mxit'ar Gos," op.cit., p. 487, n. 4.

Finally, it must be added that Pakhomov failed to suggest Minuchihr II as the minter of this coin, because in his study he made the assumption that this ruler had died about 544/1150.58

13. Billon. Shamakhiya. (55)5/(116)0. With caliph al-Mustanjid (555/1160-566/1170) and Seljuq sultan of Iraq Sulayman b. Muhammad (555/1160). Plate I.

Obv. (in a double linear circle)

The Malik

The Supreme

. Minuchihr منوجهر

Margin: (circularly within a third linear circle)

.... شماخه في سنة خمص Shamakha in the year fi(ve)...

Rev. (in a double linear circle)

al-Mustanjid.

The Sultan

[Sul]ayman.

⁵⁸Pakhomov, <u>Excursus</u>, p. 34 and p. 45 (table); reproduced (that is the table of dates) by Minorsky, <u>Sharvan</u>, p. 135 and <u>Buniiatov</u>, <u>op.cit.</u>, p. 48.

Margin: (circularly within a third linear circle)

رسول ...,... but Allah, Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah.

ANS (very dark grey color, "irregular"; d=27-33 mm., g=10.62 gr.).

This coin is unique and remarkable in many respects. The date is confirmed by the names of caliph al-Mustanjid (555-1160-566/1170-71) and especially that of sultan Sulayman-shah b. Muhammad b. Malikshah (555/1160). It is furthermore, the only coin to my knowledge of this dynasty to bear the mint name Shamakhiya.

Upon the death of the Iraq Seljuq sultan Muhammad b.
Mahmud in 554/1059 the amīrs of al-Jibāl and Adharbayjān
finally opted in favor of his uncle Sulaymānshāh, the same
Sulaymānshāh who was involved in the events of 547/1152-3
discussed under no. 12. He became sultan on 12 Rabīc I
555/22 March 1160. 59 His drinking and general conduct soon
displeased these same amīrs, with whom Shams al-Dīn Ildegiz
was in close contact. Sulaymānshāh was imprisoned in Shawwāl
555/October-November 1160 and Arslānshāh b. Tughril (555/1160571/1176), whose atabeg was Ildegiz, declared sultan.

⁵⁹ Luther, op.cit., p. 117 citing RawandI, Rahat-us-Sudur, p. 275.

Sulaymanshah was put to death in Rabl^cI or Rabi^cII 556/ February, March-April 1161.⁶⁰ Since al-Mustanjid became caliph at almost the same time as Sulaymanshah sultan, i.e., 2 Rabl^cI/12 March, the above coin must date from the seven month period Rabl^cI/March-Shawwal/October-November, 555/1160.

Accordingly Minuchihr's reign must extend from 514/1120, the year his father FarIburz died, to 555/1160 and
perhaps a little after. The previously accepted date of
his death was circa 544/1149-1150, based on an elegy for
Minuchihr by KhāqānI in which the poet says Minuchihr ruled
for thirty years. 61 Khanykov 62 was the first to point this
out and both Pakhomov 62 and Hasan followed him. However,
Hasan revised his entire early study of FalakI on the basis
of a new manuscript of the poet in Madras which contains
hithertofore unknown verses. 64 In a threnody composed by

⁶⁰ Ibid., pp. 126-128, for a general discussion of the events surrounding Sulaymanshah's accession see "The Death of Muhammad and the Accession of Sulaymanshah," ibid., pp. 114-128.

⁶¹ Kullīvāt-i-Khācanī, ed. Lucknow, pp. 548-549, cf., Hasan, Falakī, p. 11 where the elegy appears in Persian and English trans.

⁶² Mém. asiat., III, p. 122.

⁶³ Excursus, p. 34.

⁶⁴H. Hasan, "Muhammad Falaki-i-shirwani and His Unique Diwan in Madras," Islamic Culture, April, 1950, pp. 77-107.

Falaki on the death of King Dimitri of Georgia, the poet states that his brother-in-law Minuchihr was still alive and that Dimitri died at the age of sixty-three. Through some rather doubtful reasoning he established that Dimitri was born between 484/1091 and 486/1093, therefore dying in 548/1154-550/1156. He chooses the latter date and concludes that Dimitri, Falaki and Minuchihr died in quick succession in that year. Curiously Minorsky in a note to Pakhomov's dynastic table of the Shirvanshah's says about Minuchihr, "we now know that he was still alive in 555/1160 (H. Hasan), "but without giving the exact source. He is right in fact, but how or why Hasan came to this conclusion is a mystery.

with this coin the acceptance of no. 12 with Malikshah b. Mahmud becomes reasonable from the point of view of chronology. It is a curious irony that Minuchihr in his reign had

⁶⁵ Persian text and trans., ibid., p. 80.

People, op.cit., p. 101, who in turn used the Georgian Chronicle. Hasan makes some dubious conjectures about whether Christian kings became fathers at 18 or 20 years of age; he says the latter is more likely!

^{67&}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 82 & 97.

⁶⁸ Minorsky, Sharvan, p. 135, n. 4 and p. 136, n. 4; cf., idem, "Khaqani and Andronicus Commenus," reprint, p. 130, n. 6 for Minorsky's weak justification at an earlier date (1945).

struck coins in honor of two Seljuq sultans who at times were allies and who both ruled for a few months.

- E. Akhsatan b. Minuchihr II (post 555/1160 to 593/1197-600/1203-4)
- 14. AE. No mint name. (5X)5(11X)0. With caliph al-Mustanjid and Sultan Arslanshah b. Tughrul (555/1160-571/1176). Plate I
 - Obv. (under intersecting lines which look like crossed swords) (part of six-petalled rosette?)

The Malik

The Supreme

انستان بن Akhsatan son of

Marginal segments (between intersecting lines)

five (?) مسر (؟)

Rev. (in a linear circle)

al-Mustanjid

...llah. The Sultan

...rslanshah.

ANS (tear shaped; d=20-25 mm., w=6.34 gr.) (could be read Aslan or [A]rslan).

Akhsatan was the son of inuchihr and his Georgian wife Thamar, sister of King Dimitri. He succeeded his father

sometime after 555/1160. The above coin must fall in the reigns of al-Mustanjid (555/1160-566/1170) and Arslanshah (late 555/1160~571/1176), which leaves us two possibilities if the khams, five, is correctly read, 555/1160 and 565/1169. The first date would be more interesting for us, for it would allow us to precisely date the death of Minuchihr II and the beginning of Akhsatan's reign. Unfortunately, the facts of Arslanshah's succession in that year tend to militate against it. The two contemporary sources, Ibn al-Jawzi's al-Muntazam and al-BundarI's Zubdat al-Nusrah, give the date of the sultan's succession as Dhu al-Qacdah/November 555/1160,69 while RawandI's says Ramadan/September of the same year. 70 That leaves us up to four, but more probably two months, for the striking of this coin. However, since Sulaymanshah did not die until 556/1161 and Minuchihr had already struck a coin in his honor in 555/1160 (no. 13 above), we must conclude that the facts are against the striking of a coin with Arslanshah and Akhsatan in the same year. Therefore, our coin must date from 565/1169.

15A. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Mustanjid and sultan Arslanshah.

⁶⁹al-Muntazam, ed. Hyderabad, X, p. 195, Zubdat, ed. T. Houtsma, p. 296; cf. Luther, op.cit., p. 128.

⁷⁰ Rahat, p. 279, ed. M. Iqbal; cf. ibid.

Obv.

The Malik

The Supreme

اخستان بن Akhsatan son of

. Minuchihr منوجهر

Rev.

al-Mustanjid

بالله السلطان billah. The Sultan

ارسلان شاه Arslänshäh.

Margin: (circular and half erased)

There is no god but Allah...

Markov, <u>Inventarnvi</u>, p. 394, no. 1; Pakhomov, <u>Excursus</u>, p. 36 (his first type; legend complete, but no arrange-gement given; indicates that the full formula of faith appears in the reverse margin) (reference to Markov).

15B. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Mustanjid and sultan Arslanshah.

Oby. (in a six petaled rosette made of two intersecting triangles)⁷¹

The same field as 15A.

Rev. (in a linear circle)

⁷¹ This may be the same design as on the obverse of no. 14.

The same as 15A. except Arslan written

"Aslan", "

Margin: (circular)

لا الم الا الله

There is no god but Allah.

Muhammad...

Pakhomov, "Monetnye nakhodki 1924," p. 72, no. 2 (2 examples, w=1.81, 2.87 gr.; copper with a trace of silver) (reference to Markov, <u>Inventarnyii</u>, p. 394, no. 1 for general type).

15C. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Mustanjid and sultan Arslanshah.

Obv. (the same as 15A-B, except in linear rosette is doubled)

Rev. (linear circle doubled)

Seemingly the same as those above, but only the last two lines are visible; "Aslan" instead of "Arslan."

Pakhomov, "Monetnye nakhodki 1924," p. 75, nos. 6-7 (under no. 6 references to others in the "Vil' jaminov-Zernov" collection at the Hermitage).

15D. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Mustanjid and sultan Arslanshah.

Obv. (same legend as 15A-C., but in a linear circle)

Margin: (circular, worn)

Rev. (in a couble linear circle)

Same as 15A, except Arslan spelt Y___ , "Asla."

Pakhomov, "Monetnye nakhodki 1924," p. 72, no. 1 (w=5.45 gr.; Pakhomov has seen several others in various collections); H. Hasan, Falaki, p. 29, A, and the same on on p. 25, I, (presumably in Hermitage).

15X. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Mustanjid and sultan Arslanshah.

The same as either 15B. or 15D.

Pakhomov, "Monetnye nakhodki 1924," p. 75 (8 examples).

All these coins must date from 556/1161-566/1172, the effective years of Arslanshah's sultanate, matched with those of al-Mustanjid (555/1160-566/1171). During this decade we have little information on the events in Shirvan. H. Hasan has found two references which state that Ildegiz took all of Shirvan, Arran, Ganja and Bākū, 72 which "story is based, probably on the defeat inflicted by Ildigiz on Giorgi III, son of Dimitri I and grandson of David II, in 558 A.H. 1163 A.D. ..., but there is no evidence that Ildigiz ever marched against Akhsatan I or siezed his territory." 73

⁷² In Mirkhwand's Rawdatu's-Safa, ed. Tehran, IV, p. 512 and al-Khaki's Ahsanu't-Tawarikh, B.M., MS. 0r.1649,f. 167b; cf. H. Hasan, Falaki, p. 35 and nn. 3 and 4.

⁷³ Ibid.

16. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Mustadi (566/1170-575/1179) and sultan Tughril b. Arslanshah (571/1175-591/1194).

Obv. (in an eight-pointed rosette formed by the intersection of two squares)

The same as 15A-D.

Rev. (in a double linear circle)

	المستضي	al-MustadI
(<u>sic</u>)	بامرالله ا	bi-armillah A (sic)
(<u>sic</u>)	السلطان ا	The Sultan A (sic)
(sic)	طغرين	Tughrīl. (<u>sic</u>)

Margin: circular legend clipped

Pakhomov, "Monetnye nakhodki 1924," p. 73, no. 3 (two examples; w=2.64, 5.24 gr.), p. 75 another example; H. Hasan, Falaki, p. 29, B (probably same coins, but without reference).

By comparing the reigns of al-Mustadi and Tughril, these coins must date from 571/1175-575/1179. Unfortunately again we have little information on this period. Just prior to these years, there is the famous attack of the "Khazars of Derbend" on the Shirvanshah Akhsatan. The Khaqani speaks of the same attack and couples it with the raid of the Rus"

⁷⁴M. Brosset, <u>Histoire de la Géorgie</u>, I, i, p. 397, <u>cf</u>. Hasan, <u>Falaki</u>, p. 37 where the passage is also given.

by sea into Shirvan. 75 Pakhomov has suggested that the malik of Darband, Bek-Bars b. Muzaffar, in alliance with the Russian "brodniki," invaded Shirvan. 76 Akhsatan called on his cousin Giorgi, king of Georgia for help. Giorgi brought with him Andronicus Commenus, the Byzantine Prince and later emperor, who helped in defeating the invaders and restoring the raided areas. 77 The date for this invasion of the Rus and the Malik of Darband has now been placed at circa 569/1174 (the early part) or late 1173. 78 Unfortunately, we have no dated coins of Akhsatan from this period.

17. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Masir (575-1180-622/1225) and sultan Tughril b. Arslanshah.

Obv. (in an eight-pointed rosette made by the intersection of two squares)

⁷⁵ In three victors odes of Khaqani discovered by Khanykov, Mélanges Asiatiques, III, pp. 117-118 and pp. 125-134; see also Hasan, ibid., pp. 37-39 where excerpted passages are given in the original and translation; see also V. Minorsky, "Khaqani and Andronicus Comnenus," op.cit.

⁷⁶E. Pakhomov, "O derbendskom knjazhestve XII-XIII v.," op.cit., pp. 8-9, cf. Minorsky, ibid., reprint, p. 128.

⁷⁷ Minorsky, ibid., p. 127; Hasan, Falaki, pp. 37-39.

⁷⁸ Minorsky, ibid., p. 129; idem, Sharvan, p. 140.

Allah

Muhammad is the Messenger of

The Malik, the Supreme

ا فستان بن منوجهر Akhsatan son of Minuchihr.

Rev. (in a double linear border)

Allah

محمد رسول Muhammad is the Messenger of

(sic) الناصر الدين الله al-Masir al-dinillah

The Greatest Sultan

(sic) طنريل تughrīl. (sic)

Margin: (circular legend within a third linear circle)

Qur'an, IX, 33 and LXI, 9, but with many letters omitted

and with distortions, e.g., ... والدين حتى ليظ

Pakhomov, "Monetnye nakhodki 1924," p. 73, no. 4 (eight examples; w=0.84, 1.50, 1.51, 1.83, 2.40, 2.92, 4.61, 11.72 gr., obviously irregular); Hasan, Falaki, p. 30, C (no margin indicated, but probably the same coin and from Pakhomov, but no reference given); Istoriia Azerbaidzhana, I, p. 137 (illustrated, but not described).

18. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Masir and sultan Tughril.

Obv. (rosette form not visible)

Same legend as 17 except the addition of a fifth line:

Shirvanshah.

Rev. (the same as no. 17).

Pakhomov, "Monetnye nakhodki 1924," p. 75, no. 8; Pakhomov, "Sabir-abadskij klad 1926 g." (Baku, 1928), p. 31, no. 1 (w=2.48 gr.) (with reference to his Mon. nakh. 1924, p. 73, no. 4, which probably should be p. 75, no. 8).

Pakhomov points out that this is the first issue of the dynasty to use the title Shirvanshah. 79 It in fact is not, if we consider an unbroken line of descendence in this dynasty. Though not formerly part of the corpus for reasons explained above, a silver coin of Abu Mansur Call b. Yazid, first reported by Pakhomov himself at a latter date, has the title Shirvanshah. 80

19. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Masir and sultan Tughril

Obv. (eight-pointed rosette with circles placed in the clusters)

Allāh
محمد رسون
Muḥammad is the Messenger of
المائد المعدام
The Supreme Malik
المستان بن منوجهر
الجستان بن منوجهر

Rev. (in a double linear circle)

⁷⁹ Pakhomov, Monetnye nakhodki 1924, p. 75.

⁸⁰ Pakhomov, <u>Klady</u>, IX (1966) (posthumous), E2109; <u>cf.</u>, <u>supra</u>, n. 14.

Margin: (as no. 17 above, with Qur'an IX, 33, and IXI, 9, badly written).

Pakhomov, "Monetnye nakhodki 1924," p. 75, no. 9, (note the correct spelling of al-Masir lidin). (Since the coin is described as the same as his no. 4, ibid., p. 73, our no. 17, it is assume that other than the differences described, the coins are identical, including the reverse margin with Qur anic inscription).

Coins nos. 17-19 must all date from between 575/1179-80 and 591/1194, that is the beginning of al-Masir's reign to the death of Tughril.

20A. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Masir and sultan Tughril.

ODY.

There is no god but Allah.

Muhammad is the Messanger of Allah.

The Supreme Malik

الملت المعتم Akhsatan son of Minuchihr.

Rey.

(sic) الناصرالدين الله al-Masir al-dinillah. (sic)

The Sultan the... (sic) عنرك عنول (words thus distributed?)

Pakhomov, <u>Excursus</u>, p. 36 (I have arranged the order on the reverse; no specific coin is mentioned, just the type).

20B. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Masir and sultan Tughril. Plate I

Opa.

المعظم Messenger المعظم The Supreme

S...... Minuchih....(?)

Rev.

... [النا] صر [al-Kā] sir...
...[The Su]ltān the Great [est]
بنرين ؟

ANS, (tear shaped, with probably not enough silver to be called billon; d=12-17 mm., w=1.77 gr.) (clipped).

Numbers 20A. and 20B. could be the same type, but the description of 20A. and the state of 20B forces us to be inconclusive.

21. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Masir.

Oby. (in a double linear circle)

all Allah

Muhammad is the Messenger of

The Supreme Malik

Akhsatan son of Minuchihr

Shirvanshah. شروانشساه

Margin: (circular, clipped)

Rev. (in a double linear circle)

There is no god but Allah.

Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah.

(sic) الناصر الدين الله al-Māṣir al-dīnillāh, (sic)

Commander of the Faithful.

Margin: "...snatches of the same circular inscription on no. 4 (our no. 17) and again a double linear edge."

Qur'an IX, 33, and LX, 9 (?).

Pakhomov, "Monetuve nakhodki 1924," p. 74, no. 5 (ten examples; w=3.47, 4.16, 4.27, 4.96, "and so forth") (It is not absolutely clear if the our anic passages are to be found on the reverse margin.); Pakhomov, ibid., p. 75 (the majority of a hoard of about 50 pieces, perhaps 35); H. Hasan, Falaki, p. 30, D (no margins and no references, but either from Pakhomov or else in the Hermitage).

22Y. AR. Wo mint name or date.

Coins of Akhsatan not further identified or not described enough to categorize.

Pakhomov, <u>Klady</u>, I, Hllo (27 pieces, copper, with only a trace of silver, "irregular," with caliphs al-Mustanjid, al-MustadI, al-Masir and sultans Arslanshah and Tughril); Pakhomov, <u>Klady</u>, IV, Hllo2 (2 examples); Hllo3, one example; <u>Istoriia Aserbaldshana</u>, I, p. 137 (illustrated, the one to the left).

This completes the series for Akhmatan b. Minuchihr. Once again we must try to establish some chronology and offer some data on the length of his reign. No. 21, complete without the mension of sultan Tughril b. Arslanshah, probably indicates that the coins were struck after the latter's death in 591/1194. Upon the death of Tughril the central branch of the Seljugs come to an end with the Ildegizid atabegs taking over the area of al-Jibal and Adharbayjan and the Khwarazmshah, Takash, taking over the eastern part of the Seljuq Empire (see under coin no. 41B in the Ildegizids corpus). Of course we have no guarantee that the above coins were not struck before the sultan's death and with the omission of his name. Beside the numismatic testimony we have an inscription date 583/1187-8 from near Baku, 81 and the dedication of Hisami's Layla wa Mainun to Akhsatan I in 584/1188-9.62 We also are told that Akhsatan,

⁸¹ Khanykov, Mélanges Asiatiques, III, p. 119, cf. Hasan, Falaki, p. 31, Pakhomov, Kratkii, pp. 36-37 (text given in all).

⁸²H. Hasan, ibid., citing B.H., MS., Add. 7729, f. 88a.

under the pressure of the Ildegizid atabeg, Qizl Arslan (582/1186-587/1191), who occupied Shamakhi, transferred his residence to Baku. 83 Finally, since there is no reference to Akhsatan's death in Khaqani's Diwan, H. Hasan infers that the king must have survived the poet, who was still alive in 592/1196. 84 As will be seen below we have an inscription of the year 600/1203-4 showing that Farrukhzad b. Minuchihr was the Shirvanshah. 85 Therefore, the probable dates of Akhsatan's reign are after 555/1160 to 593/1197-600/1203-4.

Several numismatic points should also be discussed.

Note the spelling of Tughril, بانس , is always Tughril,

on the coins of the Shirvanshahs in distinction

to those of the Ildegizids (see nos. 18-20). We have now

come into a full copper coinage with only traces of silver,

actually an average of 9.34% of the metal composition.

Note has already been made of the use of the title Shirvanshah

on the coins.

87 Hasan also pointed out that Akhsatan's

⁸³v. Barthold, "The Place of the Caspian Provinces in the History of Islam" (in Russian) (Baku, 1925), pp. 46-47; cf. Minorsky, Sharvan, p. 85; Pakhomov, Excursus, p. 360. Hasan rejects the occupation because it is based on a misinterpretation of Khaqani, ibid., p. 35.

⁸⁴ Hasan, ibid., pp. 32-33.

⁸⁵ Khanykov, op.cit., p. 119, cf. Pakhomov, Excursus, pp. 37 and 39, and Hasan, Falaki, pp. 31-32 (text and trans. given by all).

⁸⁶g. Pakhomov, "Khimicheskii analiz shirvanshakhskikh monet," Iz. Azkom (Baku, 1928), p. 35 and table p. 37.

⁸⁷By Pakhomov, supra, n. 79 by Hasan, in connection with coin no. 21, but with no reference, Falaki, p. 31.

predecessors bear the simple title al-Malik and that he now takes the title "al-Maliku'l-Mu^caszam"; ⁸⁸ he, however, did not have access to our unique no. 13, which shows that Minuchihr had already taken the latter title by 555/1160.

The next forty years in the history of the Shirvanshahs is a period of total confusion. The literary sources afford only fragmentary material, but unfortunately no separate or consecutive sequence of events in Shirvan. The numismatic evidence seems often to be in conflict with the literary and inscriptional. During the period the Khwarazmshahs and the Mongols make their appearance in the Caucasia. As Z. Bunilatov has recently shown, for the single year 622/1225 it is possible to find seven rulers who are called Shirvanshahs. Be we have not a single fixed date for the beginning or end of the rule of any of these rulers, including the above mentioned seven. Beigns seem to overlap and fathers and sons appear to rule at the same time; there are many internecine conflicts.

^{88&}quot;The Supreme Malik, Hasan, ibid.

Farrukhsad I b. Minuchihr II, Shahinshah b. Minuchihr II, Garshasp I b. Farrukhsad, Fariburz III b. Garshasp, Rashid, Jalalal-Din Sultanshah b. Shirvanshah (i.e., b. Rashid?) and Afridun b. Fariburz (?). Each will be discussed in the body of the corpus.

feedal fragmentation must have taken place under which various members of the ruling dynasty reign in the different cities of Shirvan. In this Buniiatov concurs. 90 We do not have coins for all of these dynasts; some are known through the literature, others by inscriptions. In the corpus every effort will be made to follow a chronological sequence and when a ruler is not represented by numismatic evidence, a brief resume will be given of whatever other source material exists. The order of succession through the reign of Fariburz III b. Garshasp will be tentative, speculative and subject to later emendation.

- F. Shahanshah b. Minuchihr II (circa 575/1180 to circa 600/1203)
- 23. AE (with trace of silver, billon?). No mint name or date. With caliph al-Masir.

Obv. (in a double linear circle)

الله الله الله Muḥamad is the Messenger of الملك المحدم The Supreme Malik
محد رسون The Supreme Malik
مناها مناه مناه مناه و المناه مناه المناه مناه المناه
⁹⁰ Ibid.

Rev. (in a double linear circle)

There is no god but Allah.

Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah.

(sic) الناصر الدين الله al-Masir al-dīnillāh (sic)

اسر المينين السلام (commander of the Faithful.

Margin: (circular) Qur'an IX, 33, and IXI, 9

[محمد رسول الله ارسله لمهدى ودين الحق ليصبهم على الدين كليهم] ولو كره المشركون

Pakhomov, "Shirvanshakh Shakhanshakh," pp. 69-70, five examples, irregularly struck (on obverse in third line below the 10, ha, occasionally, 10, h, and between the lines are found sometimes dots and decorations (w=3.34, 4.49, 5.92, 6.27, 8.66 gr.), cf., to the same coins Pakhomov, Klady, I, Hlo8 (no descriptions); Pakhomov, "Monetnye nakhodki 1924," p. 75 (two examples, not described, but "almost no difference to those above"), cf., to the same coins, Pakhomov, Klady, I, Hlo9 (no descriptions).

The first five of these coins were from a hoard discovered in 1907 at Alti-Agach in the Shamākhi region of Azerbayjan and placed in the Hermitage. Pakhomov had not seen the hoard at the time he wrote his Excursus and, therefore, this Shirvānshāh was completely unknown. We know from Falakī that Minūchihr II b. Afrīdūn is supposed to have had five sons, 91 whether they were all by his Georgian wife Thamar is not known. Four of these are known, all from numismatic

⁹¹ Hasan, Falaki, p. 15, the text with trans. is given.

evidence; the coins of Akhsatan and Shahanshah have already been presented; Afridum from a coin of his son, Fariburz II b. Afridum b. Minuchihr; and finally, Farrukhsad from a coin of his son, Garshasp b. Farrukhsad b. Minuchihr, and an inscription (see below for discussion).

Pakhomov placed Shāhānshāh's rule after Akhsātan's and Minorsky following him adds this Shirvānshāh to the dynastic table he reproduced from the <u>Ercursus</u>, adding, "from c. 575 1179-80 to 575-83 1179-1187-88 "92. The literary sources are mutrand there have been no inscriptions found; we have only the coins. From an analysis of the silver content we see that these coins contain 10.75% compared to 9.34% for Akhsatān I, 3.91% for Garshāsp, and 1.5% and less for subsequent rulers. 93 The results show an even higher silver content than his brother and supposed predecessor Akhsatān. Perhaps in the period after the beginning of al-Māsir's caliphate, 575/1179-80, Shāhānshāh and Akhsatān were already ruling in different parts of the empire. The other possibility, the one already put

⁹²Minorsky, Sharvan, p. 135; Minorsky's dates are based simply on the start of al-Masir's reign and the supposition that Shahanshah must have ruled before his brother Afridun II.

⁹³ Pakhomov, "Ehimicheskii analiz shirvanshakhshikh monet," op.cit., pp. 36-37; copper content: 82.4, 84.96, 90.7%, respectively.

forth by Pakhomov, and tacitly supported by Bunilatov, is that after Akhsatan's reign, which ended probably sometime after 592/1196.94 Shahanshah ruled for a short period, during which he increased the silver content of the coins he struck. possibility of a dual rule has already been suggested for the sons of Fariburz I, namely, Minuchihr I perhaps in Shamakhi, and, Afridun I in Darband (supra, n. 46). In the present case there is a question as to where Shahanshah might have ruled contemporaneously with his brother. We know firmly that Minuchihr in his last year had his capital in Shamakhi from the mint name struck on coin no. 13. We also know that Akhsatan used the same city as his residence at least until 582/1186-587/1191, when sometime during those years it was occupied by the Ildegizid Oizl Arslan; residence was then transferred to Baku. 95 Whether or when it was transferred back we are not sure: we know that Bākū's rise as a major city dates from this period. 96

See discussion, supra, at nn. 85 and 86.

⁹⁵ See supra, n. 83, with references to Minorsky, Pakhomov, Barthold, and Hasan, who reject this assumption.

⁹⁶Minorsky, "Khāqānī and Andronicus Comnenus," p. 131, n. 2.

However, assuming the occupation was short and that Akhsatan returned to Shamakhi, then it doesn't seem likely that Shahanshah ruled at the same time. The seven coins we have were all found near Shamakhi, indicating that they were probably struck in that city. It is also Buniiatov's feeling that Shahanshah also ruled at Shamakhi. 97 We are back where we began with the uncertain supposition that Shahanshah ruled after his brother sometime before 600/1203. Later we shall have more to say about the possibility of the realm being distributed among the sons of Minuchihr II upon his death.

G. Afridum II b. Winuchihr II (sometime during 583/1187-600/1203)

Our only information on this Afridun is from the coins of his son Fariburz II b. Afridun b. Minuchihr Shirvanshah. We do not know if he actually ruled. Khanykov and after him Pakhomov pointed to a possible reference to him (though not by name) in an ode by Khaqani addressed to Akhsatan. 98

⁹⁷z. Buniiatov, op.cit., p. 52.

⁹⁸ Khanykov, Mél. Asiat., III, p. 134; cf. Pakhomov, Excursus, p. 37.

Pakhomov, for whom the possibility of overlapping rulers did not exist, placed him before his brother Farrukhzād, prior to 600/1203 for which year there is an inscription for Farrukhzād. 99 Nasawī in his <u>Sīrat al-sultān Jalāl al-Dīn</u> relates that when in 622/1225 the Khwārazmshāh Jalāl al-Dīn was in Arrān the Shirvānshāh "Afrīdūn b. Farīburz" came forward uninvited and with tribute. 100 There is no further explanation or comment except the reimposition of the tribute first levied by Alp Arslān upon Farīburz b. Sālār. 101 We have no record of another Afrīdūn. Could this be a confusion on Nasawī's part of Afrīdūn b. Minūchihr II with his ancestor Farīburz and somehow the creation of a composite name for our Afrīdūn b. Minūchihr? If so this would probably mean a residence in the western part of Shirvān, perhaps Shakkī.

⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 37; the inscription from Mardakan near Baku is dated 600 (presumably A.H.)/1203. The text is reproduced and translated by H. Hasan, Falaki, pp. 31-32.

lookd. 0. Houdas, text p. 175; cf. A. Ali-Zade, op.cit., pp. 363-364, who also used a MS in the "Vostokovedenija AN SSSR," f. 105a and 105b; also Minorsky, Sharvan, p. 136, citing Nasawi p. 174 and trans., p. 290 (who this Afridum might be doesn't seem to bother Minorsky); cf. also, Z. Buniiatov, op.cit., p. 52, citing Nasawi p. 175 and Ibn Khaldun, V, p. 137.

lolz. Buniiatov, op.cit., p. 52 makes the same suggestion for "Afridun b. Fariburz" but adds also Kabali(?). He is not sure who this Afridun is or where he should be placed. Without explanation he makes him a son of Fariburz III b. Garshasp b. Farrukhzad, which seems completely arbitrary and late, see his dynastic chart onp. 52, ibid.

- H. Fariburz II b. Afridum II b. Minuchihr II (sometime during 583/1187-600/1203)
- 24A. AB. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Masir.
 Plate I

Obv. (in a square made of three lines, the center one of dots)

The just Malik

Jalal al-Dunyā wa al-Dīn

جلال الدنيا والدين

Farīburz son of Afrīdūn

son of Minūchihr Shirvānshāh.

Rev. (in a square made of three lines, the center one of dots)

There is no god but Allāh.

Wuḥammad is the Messenger of Allāh.

(sic) الناصر الدين الله al-Māṣir al-dīnīllāh (sic)

امير المؤمنين Commander of the Faithful.

Margin: none visible.

Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, ex-Thomburn collection (four examples, poorly struck, three of them "irregular"); AMS (poorly struck, one side clipped; d=15.0-21.5 mm., w=4.43 gr., "irregular").

24B. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Masir.

Obv. ("in the usual four-petaled [4-oseboj] rosette")

Same legend as 24A.

Margin: (circular within a double linear border)

... ليشهره على الدين ... ليشهره على الدين ...

Pakhomov, "Sabir-abadskii monetnyi klad 1924," Iz. Azkom. (Baku, 1928), p. 32 (26 examples) (obverse: edges of rosette or circular inscription, if any, are effaced;

: Shirvanshah, found only on two,

the rest clipped; Pakhomov has written فريبز

Farībus, which I assume is a typographical error) freverse: "(sic)" in Pakhomov) (weights for all 26 are given; w=between 1.18-7.35 gr., average=3.13 gr.), cf., same hoard, Pakhomov, <u>Klady</u> II, H+29 (not described).

24C. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Masir.

Legends the same as 24A. and 24B., but no design around field nor margins indicated.

Bartholomaei à Soret, RMB, 1861, p. 70, no. 72 (illus., fig. 20) (first line of obverse missing; last line and parts of second and third lines missing); Markov, Inventarnii, p. 396, no. 32 (on reverse al-Masir Edin is properly spelled, but I assume by mistake); nos. 33-34 ("same, different die"), nos. 35-37 ("same, irregularly struck"); Pakhomov, Kratkij, p. 38 (general description with references to Bartholomaei and Markov).

25%. AB. Coins attributed to Fariburg b. Afridun, but not described for further classification.

Pakhomov, "Monetnye nakhodki 1924", p. 76 (six examples not described); cf., same hoard Pakhomov, Klady, I, Hill; Pakhomov, Klady, II, H431 (lex.); Pakhomov, Klady, VI, H1613 (3 ex. with al-Masir); Pakhomov, Klady, VII, H1613 (4 ex. with al-Masir); "Pakhomov, Klady, VIII, H1972 (one ex. with al-Masir); (d=10.0-14.5 mm, t=1.5-2.0 mm., w=1.60 (sic) gf., which hardly seems possible, "irregular").

About Jalal al-Dunya wal-Din Fariburs II b. Afridun b. Minuchihr II we know almost nothing beyond the information on his coins. Pakhomov places his reign in that crowded period between the death of Akhsatan and 600/1203, the supposed beginning of Farrukhsad's reign. 102 nothing more to add except that he was one of the six 103 Shirvanshahs to rule during the time of caliph al-Masir (575/1179-90 to 622/1225). 104 Pakhomov, perhaps a bit too imaginatively, tries to associate Fariburz II with a passage in the Georgian Chronicle which is as follows. Amir-Miran, who Pakhomov is unable to identify except as being from the family of Ildegiz, but who most certainly was Amir-Miran b. Pahlavan b. Ildemiz, 105 was married to a daughter of the Shirvanshah (not specified); he fought a battle at Baylagan against his step brother Abu Bakr, undoubtedly for the succession of the atabegate. He was supported by queen Thamar; 106 the armies

¹⁰² pakhomov, Excursus, p. 38.

¹⁰³ Hasan of course doesn't include the two new rulers found by Buñiiatov, op.cit., pp. 51-52; see also supra, n. 89; this would bring our total to eight; Buniiatov, for reasons unknown, doesn't allow that Fariburz II was living in 622/1225.

¹⁰⁴ Hasan, Falaki, p. 40.

¹⁰⁵ Georgian Chronicle, Brosset, Histoire de la Géorgie, I/1, pp. 435-436; cf., Pakhomov, Kratkii, p. 38, also, Minorsky, "The Georgian Maliks of Ahar," BSOAS (1951), p. 872. On Amir-Miran or Amir Amiran as he is called by al-Husayni in his Akhbar al-dawlat al-Saljugiva, see Minorsky, "Ahar," ibid., and Luther, pp. 249-257. Pakhomov, p. 39, seems to realize this.

¹⁰⁶ Georgian Chronicle, ibid.; Minorsky, ibid.

of Amir-Miran lost. After this, an earthquake in Shamakhi killed many of the inhabitants including the wife and son of the Shirvanshah. Then Pakhemov concludes, but without being explicit, that Amir-Miran was probably the son and that he was the successor to the Shirvanshah throne. "Thanks to this catastrophe the throne of Shirvan passed to the family of Farrukhzad." The whole argument is very unconvincing.

The logical explanation is that once again we have a situation where different members of the ruling dynasty were reigning and striking coins in different parts of the country. Exactly where Farlburz was ruling cannot yet be known. If we assume that Afrīdūn II was somewhere in the west, then Farlburz was probably ruling there to. If there is some connection between him and the Ildegizid Amīr-Mīrān, then the southern areas would be more likely

There is the final but doubtful, possibility that the testimony of Masawi quoted above 108 about an "Afridum b. Fariburs," the Shirvanshah, coming forward, when the Khwarazmanshah Jalal al-Din was in Arran, with tribute, is a reference to Fariburs b. Afridum and that either the writer

¹⁰⁷ Pakhomov, Kratkii, p. 38.

¹⁰⁸ supra, n. 100.

or a copist jumpaposed the two names. If this should prove possible, then it would be concluded that Fariburs reigned in the southwest of Shirvan.

I. Farrukhsåd b. Minächthr II (583/1187-600/1203 to before 622/1225)

Once again we come across a Shirvanshah for whom we have not yet found any coins. He is mentioned on the coins of his son Garshasp b. Farrukhsad b. Minuchihr II. But unlike Afridum b. Minuchihr, who is also known by the coins of his son, we have some concrete testimony on Farrukhsad by way of an inscription dated 600/1203. In the inscription his name and title are given, "...the victorious Fakhru al-Dunya wal-Din [Farrukhz] ad b. Minuchihr, helper of the Gommander of the faithful...", as well as the date and the fact that the tower on which the inscription is found was built by "Garshasp, possessor of troops, commander-in-chief, the most glorious person of the world, the aided, the plentifully equipped..." 109 The inscription was found at the village of Mardakan near Baku.

¹⁰⁹ Khanykov, Mél. asiat., III, p. 119; cf. with text and translation, Pakhomov, Kratkii, p. 39; Hasan, Falaki. pp. 31632. However, a different text is given in Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphic arabe, IX (1937), no. 3580, p. 258, where the name Garshisp b. Farrukhsäd is clear; both Pakhomov and Hasan have omitted this important detail.

The duration of his rule is not certain. Dorn had given the dates 1205/601-2 to 1233/630-1, which Pakhomov, in light of the Mardakan inscription, corrected to at least two or three years earlier at the beginning, and, at least ten years and perhaps more at the end. 110 That is Farrukhsad is not ruler later than 622/1225, based on the fact that the coins of his son Garshasp have caliph al-Masir's name on them. However, with our new assumption that Shirvanshah rule overlapped, because various members of the family ruled in different cities of the state, we must re-appraise our attitude toward Farrukhsad's reign.

In fact from more recent research it seems that the father of Garshasp did rule after 622/1225. There is a report in Ibn Athir under the year 622/1225 which says, "in this year against the Shirvanshah rese his son, banished him from the country and began to reign after him." Pakhomov had speculated that these unnamed Shirvanshahs might be Garshasp and his son Pariburs III. But according to P.

¹¹⁰ Ibn Athir, XII, p. 176, also Ibn Khaldun, V, p. 137; cf., Buniiatov, op.cit., p. 51.

p. 40.

Pakhomov, <u>Fratkil</u>, p. 41 (using Brosset, <u>Histoire</u> de la <u>Géorgie</u>, I/1, p. 397 as his reference to Ibn-Athfr); <u>cf.</u> also in Bunilatov, <u>ibid</u>.

Zhuze the dethroned Shirvanshah was Farrukhsad. 113 Unfortunately, the latter confuses the issue by giving Dorn's old dates (1205/601-2 to 1233/630-1) for Farrukhsad's reign, seemingly ignoring the inscription of 600/1203. 114 Whatever the details may be, it seems reasonably certain that Farrukhsad was ruling in one part of Shirvan, probably in Baku, which is near Mardakan, 115 while other members of the dynasty were ruling elsewhere.

- J. Gershasp b. Perrukhsad b. Minuchibr II (from sometime after 600/1203 to circa 630/1233-4)
- 26A. AB. No mint name or date. With celiph al-Masir.

Obv. (in an eight petalled rosette made of two lines the center of which is filled with dots)

¹¹³p.K. Zhuze (translator), <u>Materialy po istorii</u>
Azerbaidshana is "Tarikh al-Kamil'" Ibn al-Asira, (Baku, 1940),
p. 151, n. 2 (I have not seen this work.); <u>cf</u>. Buniiatov, <u>ibid</u>.,
p. 51; <u>cf</u>., also Ali-Zade, pp. 360-361.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Buniiatov concurs in this opinion, ibid., p. 52.

Rev. (in a four petalled rosette surrounding a square)

alli yiali y There is no god but Allah.

Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah.

(<u>sic</u>) الناصر الدين الله al-Nasir al-dinillah (<u>sic</u>) Commander of the Faithful.

Pakhomov, Monetnye nakhodki 1924, pp. 75-76, no. 10 (three examples); cf., also Pakhomov, Klady, I, Hl09 (no description); Blau, Odessa, p. 29, no. 341 (probably this type, not fully described); Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, two examples, unpublished.

26B. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Masir.

Opa.

The same as 26A, but above the بسب of برشاسه , Garshasp, there is the word ملا ,Allah, and above the مالك , al-malik, there is an extra

Rev.

The same as 26A.

Pakhomov, "Sabir-abadskii klad 1926 g.," p. 33, no. 7 (eight examples; w=1.58, 2.83, 3.23, 3.70, 3.83, 3.96, 4.90, 6.41 gr.) (Pakhomov indicates there might be a six line on the obverse), see also Pakhomov, Klady, II, H+29 (no description).

26C. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Masir.

Oby.

Like 26A, but a knot, , above the ____ of ____ of ______

Rev. (Double linear circle instead of rosette)

Like 26A, above the first line is the beginning of
a half-clipped word, ... >>...

Pakhomov, "Sabir-abadskij klad 1926 g.", p. 33, no. 5 (two examples; w=3.25, 3.37 gr.), same in Pakhomov, Klady, II, H+29 (no description); Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, ex-Thornburn collection(unpublished), one example (only knot visible; coin in perfect condition, almost mint condition, but badly_struck). In Pakhomov's examples p. 33, no. 5 Minuchihr is spelled

26D. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Masir.

OpA.

Same as 26A, but with Sover Sin الملك, over in المعنيم

Rev. (border of dots, neither rosette nor square, but haphazard combination of both)

Same 26A, except first line, all years, has some words (a bit garbled) vertically written to form a square design.

Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, ex-Thornburn collection (umpublished) (beautifully clear, though badly struck example).

26E. AR. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Nasir.

Rev. (border design like 26D.)

Same as 26A, but die very carelessly cut.

Margin: circularly, only the word , malik.

BM, AE 1.2, access. Lt. Col. C. Jackson, 1933 (coin completely irregularly shaped like early issues of Georgian Queen Thamar, 116 (unpublished).

27A. AB. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Masir.

Obv. (border not indicated) (legend in four lines)

Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah.

The Supreme Malik

Garshasp son of Farrukhsad

عن منوجهر بن منوجهر بن منوجهر

Rev. (border not indicated)

There is no god but Alläh.

Muhammad is the Messenger of Alläh.

Muhammad is the Messenger of Alläh.

الناصر لدين الله

Commander of the Faithful.

Dorn, Mova Supplementa, pp. 403-404, no. 351 (several examples mentioned giving one composite description; all are badly deformed) (with reference to C. Fraehn, Arbeiten der Kurländ. Gesellschaft für Literature und Kunst, II [Mitau, 1847], p. 57); Bartholomaei à Soret, REB, 1859, pp. 454-455, no. 116, (illus. Pl. XVII, fig. XVII, fig. 38) (many examples to complete the legend, which is still well bracketted) (typographical error in first line of reverse, for all) (reference to Frashn=Dorn, p. 404, with curious, "qui diffère d'ailleurs, du nôtre, par la première ligne de l'avers," which might indicate that coins are like our nos. 26 with all allah, on a fifth line above.).

¹¹⁶ Such irregular coins, with floral or animal shaped planchets are illustrated in V. Langlois, Numismatique

Mote the correct spelling of al-Masir-lidin, والناصرلدين one wonders if the coins actually had been struck with correctly cut dies. Blau (Odessa, pp. 29-30) doubts Dorn's transcription and corrects it. Bartholomaei indicates that he was conscious that he was reading لدين , -lidin.

27B. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Masir.

The same as 27A, but ler ler .

Blau, Odessa, pp. 29-30, nos. 323-340 (eight examples, some with the et of the fourthline of the obverse placed in the third line; expected comment that planchets are too small for dies and that all are irregularly struck) (reference to Dorn, N.S., p. 404 with correction as note above).

One suspects that some of these may be of the type no. 26 above. No border designs are indicated.

de la Géorgie au moven age (Paris, 1852), pl. II, no. 10, III, no. 2, also for Glorgi Lasha (1212-1223), Pl. IV, nos. 1-2; D. Lang, op.cit., pl. II, figs. 4-5, for Lasha, Pl. III, fig. 1. The first irregular coppers of Georgia were struck under Dimitri (1125-55). They are small, roundish, but struck on planchets which are still too small; illustrated in V. Langlois, ibid., Pl. II, nos. 3-4. The AMS has three of these pieces which were not identified at the time of Lang's study based on the AMS collection. On these irregular types in Georgia, A. Bykov, keeper of coins at the Hermitage, has commented that Dimitri employed some mint-masters from Shirvan, see supra, "Chap. Two," n. 155 for reference. Since Dimitri's sister Thamar was married to the Shirvanshah Minuchihr II, this borrowing from a relative and neighbor is quite reasonable.

28A. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Masir.

Obv. (in an eight-petalled rosette)

[اللّه] [اللّه]

[Muhammad is the Messenger of]

[المليك المرحظم] [The Mali]k the Su[preme]

[کر] شاسب من [فرخزاد] [Gar] shasp son of [Farrukhzad]

son of Minu [chihr]

.... Shir سرو

Rev. (in a four petalled rosette)

الله الله There is no god but Allah.

Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah.

(sic) الناصر الدين الله al-Nasir al-dinillah (sic)

Commander of the Faithful.

Pakhomov, "Sabir-abadskii klad 1926," p. 33, no. 6, (w=2.88 gr.); Pakhomov, Klady, II, H+29 (same hoard, coin not described); Pakhomov, Klady, VII, H1803 (d=19.0-20.5 mm., t=2.2-2.5 mm., w=6.71 gr.).

28B. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Masir.

Obv. (in eight-petalled rosette)

[ملا] [Allah]

[Muhammad is the Messenger of]

[The Supreme Malik] [المك المعظم]

[Garshasp son of Farrukhsad son o

- Mintichihr Shir منوجهر شسر

vanshah.

Rev. Same as 284.

Pakhomov, "Sabit-abadskii klad 1926," p. 32, no. 3 (w=4.07 gr.) (reference to Bartholomaei à Soret, p. 39, no. 119 (an offprint?=(?) RNB, 1859, pp. 454-455, no. 117, for which see below no. 28X). Typographical error in third line, (a)1-Malik.

28Ba. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Nasir.

What appears to be the same coin, though design around the fields are not given, but with typographical error(?)

, Shir-, for بنير , Shir-, of Shirvan in fifth line.

Markov, Inventarnyi, p. 394, no. 2.

up to the end of the fifth line.

28C. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Nasir.

The same as 28A, except of six line of obverse moved

Pakhomov, "Sabir-abadskii klad 1926," pp. 32-33, no. 4 (three examples; w=1.87, 1.91, 2.98 gr.), the same in Pakhomov, Klady, II, H+29 (no description); Hasan, Falaki, p. 16, no. IV (probably from the Hermitage).

28D. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Masir.

Obv. (border not indicated)

Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah.

The Supreme Malik

... بن عرجزاد بن عرجزاد بن

Minuchihr سنوجهر

Shirv....

Rev. Presumably the same as 28A.

Blau, Odessa, p. 29, no. 342 (illus., Pl. I, no. 7) (reference to Fraehn (Dorn), N.S., p. 150 for "Shirvan").

28E. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Nasir.

Shirv(an), , moved up to fourth line, of obverse, otherwise the same as no. 28D.

Blau, Odessa, p. 29, no. 343.

28X.(?)AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Nasir.

Obv.

The Malik the Su...
... الملك الو...
... rshāsp son of Farr...
d son of Minūchihr
(sic) مانشاه Shā(ha)nshāh.

Rev. Same as 28A(?).

Bartholomaei à Soret, RNB, 1859, pp. 454-455, no. 117.

This coin is certainly of very doubtful attribution. Pakhomov says, "Probably this same variety was described by I. Barthomaei, but with an imperfect example, thanks to which he read the last line "Limit (Shāhanshāh)." (Shāhanshāh)."

29. AE. With no mint name or date. With caliph al-Nasir.

¹¹⁷ Pakhomov, "Sabir-abadskij klad 1926," p. 32 under no. 3.

Obv.

There is no god but Allah.

Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah.

The Supreme Malik

الملك المعامم

Garshasp son of Farrukhzad son of

Minuchihr Shirvanshah. (sic)

Rev. (same as above types)

منوجهر شير وانشاه (عic)

There is no god but Allah.

Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah.

(sic) الناصر الدين الله الموسنين كالموسنين الله الموسنين Commander of the Faithful.

Pakhomov, Excursus, p. 40 (general description without reference to specific coins; since there are no other specimens of this type, one suspects a careless attribution by Pakhomov of one of the above types probably 28A.) (reference to Fraehn, 1847(?) = Arbeiten der Kurländ, op.cit., Mitau, 1847).

All of the above issues of Garshasp b. Farrukhzad, nos. 26-29, are dateless; our only firm evidence once again are the years of caliph al-Nasir's reign (575/1180-622/1225). Pakhomov was forced to place his rule between these dates, because he had already placed Farrukhzad as ruling by 600/1203 and also because Garshasp's son Fariburz III struck coins with caliph al-Mustansir's (623/1226-640/1242) name, all of which when considered in the context of successive rather than simultaneous rule, does not permit Garshasp's rule beyond

622/1225. Minorsky accepted these dates. Hew information which will be discussed under the next issue, has, perhaps predictably, changed or cast doubt on the above dating.

30X.(?)AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Mustansir (623/1226-640/1242).

The coin is not fully described. The obverse is presumably similar to nos. 26-29, with part or all of the formula of faith, the title al-malik al-mu^Cazzam, and the name Garshasp b. Farrukhzad b. Minuchihr Shirvanshah. The reverse is also probably of the exact type as nos. 26-29 in four lines, but with the substitution of al-Mustansir billah, all-main lidinillah.

Blau, Odessa, p. 29, no. 344.

This unique coin is of course suspect and may have to be rejected. However, a new inscription, first reported by Pakhomov, 120 from a tower in Mardakan (the same tower on

¹¹⁸ Pakhomov, Excursus, p. 40.

¹¹⁹ Minorsky, Sharvan, p. 135.

¹²⁰ E. Pakhomov, "Starinnye oboronnye sooruzheniia Apsherona," Trudy In-ta istorii im. A. Bakikhanova AH Azerb. SSR, I. (Baku, 1947), p. 72; I have not been able to secure this article, but cf., Buniiatov, op.cit., p. 49, n. 6.

which the inscription of Farrukhsad is found?) in the Baku area indicates that Garshasp b. Farrukhsad was still living (ruling?) in 630/1233-34. The inscription tends to add credence to Blau's coin and encourages the possibility of other such coins being found. It certainly seems to show that Garshasp was ruling at the same time his son Farlburz III (for whom see below) was and perhaps also at the same time as his father Farrukhzad. Of course Baku would be the natural seat for their administration.

31x. AE. Plate I

Coins of Garshasp b. Farrukhsad b. Minuchihr insufficiently described for further classification.

Dorn, Nova Supplementa, p. 149, no. 1 (eight examples with reference to Yerhandla der mitauischen Ges. and Bullet. sc., VI, p. 223); Markov, Inventarnvi, p. 394, nos. 2a-31 (31 examples, nos. 14-31 irregular); Pakhomov, "Montetnye nai hodki 1924," p. 76 (88 examples), see also same hoard Pakhomov, Klady, I, Hlll; Pakhomov, "Sabir-abadskij klad 1926," pp. 31-34 (154 specimens beside those listed above; weights for 23 given ranging from 0.97-7.35 gr.), see also for the same hoard Pakhomov, Klady, II, H429; Pakhomov, Klady, I, Hll2 (two examples); Pakhomov, Klady, II, H427 (one with al-Nasir), H428, H430, H431 (11 examples with al-Nasir); Pakhomov, Klady, IV, Hll04 (d=14.0-18.0 mm., t=30*mm., "irregular"), Hll05 (one with al-Nasir), Hll06 (one example, with al-Masir, "rregularly struck"), Hll07 (three examples; d±12.2, 14.5, 16.7 mm., w=1.07, 1.92, 2.50 gr.), Hll08, Hll13, no. 3 (with al-Nasir); Pakhomov, Klady, VI, Hl613 (11 examples with al-Nasir); Pakhomov, Klady, VI, Hl613 (11 examples with al-Nasir); Pakhomov, Klady, VII, Hl799, nos. 406-410 (five examples), Hl802 (with al-Nasir, d=approx. 17.0 mm.), Hl804 (six examples, with al-Nasir; 18 more probably Garshasp with al-Nasir); Pakhomov, Klady, VIII, H1973 (d=11.5-13.0 mm., t=approx. 2.5 mm., w=2.67 gr.), H1974

(six examples; two almost round, d=10.0-10.5, 12.0-13.0 mm., t=2.0-2.3, 2.7-3.0 mm., w=1.30, 3.08 gr.; one very irregular, d=9.5-18.0 mm., t=2.0-2.2 mm., w=3.14 gr.; one oval, d=14.0-16.0 mm., t=2.5-2.7 mm., w=3.76 gr.: two almost round, d=12.0-12.5, 10.0-11;0 mm., t=2.5-2.7, 1.5-2.0 mm., w=2.50, 1.57 gr.), H1975 (probable; d=16.0-18.0 mm., t=2.5-2.9 mm., w=5.55 gr.), H1976 (with al-Masir, "irregular"; d=18.0-23.0 mm., t=2.0-2.8 mm.; w=5.69 gr.); Pakhomov, Klady, IX, H2111 (with al-Masir; d=19.0-20.0, t=2.2-2.9 mm., weight not given), H2112 (irregular; d=12.0-17.0 mm., t=1.9-2.2 mm., weight not given), H2113 (with al-Masir, probably Garshasp; d=15.0-24.0 mm., t=2.5-3.5 mm., w=7.13 gr., "very irregular"); EM, AE 1, AE 8, access. Lt. Col. Jackson, 1933 (two examples, unpublished, irregular; my notes indicate they are of a common type); Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, five examples (unpublished) ex-Thorburn Collection (all irregular, not enough remaining on coins for further classification); ANS, nine examples, all irregular and fragmentary, no further distinctions are possible (w=3.21, 3.74, 3.94, 3.96, 4.53, 4.61, 4.85, 4.94, 5.94 gr.).

K. Akhsatan II b. (Fariburz II ?) (circa 582-3/1187)

We are not sure who this Akhsatan was; there are no coins known to exist. He is mentioned in the Georgian Chronicle as the "Shirvanshah" who was one of the suitors of Queen Thamar after her divorce from the Russian prince Giorgi in 582-3/1187. He is referred to as a relative, "the mother of his father, sister of King Dimitri, was daughter of the great kind David." Pakhomov postulated that he might be the son of Fariburz II b. Minuchihr II, who was married to

Pakhomov, Excursus, p. 39, quoting Brosset, Histoire de la Géorgie, I/l, pp. 419-420.

Thamar, daughter of David and sister of Dimitri. 122 Of course he could have been the son of any of the other known sons of Minuchihr II, namely, Shāhānshāh, Akhsatān, or Farrukhzād. Beyond this we know almost nothing, except that he was unsuccessful in his matrimonial pursuit of Thamar, who married a native, David Soslan in 589/1193.

L. Rashid b. (Farrukhzad ?) (circa 618/1221)

In 618/1221 Yeme (Jebe) and Stibetei led the first Mongol raid into the Caucasus. Moving from Iraq they subjugated Tabriz, Maragha and Naxijawan, received submission from the Ildegizid Khāmūsh b. Uzbek, pushed into Arran, took Baylaqan, and then went by way of Shirvan to Darband. 123 In Shirvan they sacked Shamakhi before continuing up to al-Bab. 124 At Darband they couldn't go through the pass and according to Ibn al-Athir they sent to the "Shirvanshah, ruler of Darband of Shirvan who could lead the army through the pass. 125 According to Kirakos Ganjakeçi the pass

¹²² Ibid., further references to Brosset, pp. 437-439.

¹²³ Juwainī, ed. trans. J. Boyle, I, pp. 148-149, see especially n. 29.

¹²⁴ Rashid al-Din, tr. Smirnova, p. 228.

¹²⁵ Ibn al-Athir, XII, p. 159; Rashid al-Din, <u>ibid</u>., pp. 228-229.

was occupied by "Tajiks" who would not let them pass. 126
These "Tajiks" were the Kipchak allies of the Khwarazmshāhs, who were latter routed by the Mongols. 127 The remnants of these Kipchaks came back to Darband and sought refuge with the ruler of that city called by Ibn al-Athir "Rashid-Shirvanshāh malik Darband Shirvan" and "sāhib Darband Shirvan." 128 The later refused and the Kipchaks seized Darband by cunning and Rashid fled. According to Bunilatov, Rashid probably fled to Shamākhi, which according to Yāqūt, a contemporary of these events, was "the principle city of the land of Shirvan. It [Shamākhi] is one of the regions of Bāb al-abwāb. Its ruler is the brother of Darband." 129

Rashid later returned and routed the Kipchaks with the help of his allies, the Georgians, Lezgians and other nations. Pakhomov cited a brief version of this account from Ibn al-Athir in his monograph on Darband. 130 However,

¹²⁶Kirakos Ganjakeçi, <u>History</u>, tr. T. Ter-Grigorian, (Baku, 1946), p. 105.

¹²⁷al-Masawi, pp. 172-173; Ibn Khaldun, V, pp. 124-125; cf., Buniiatov, p. 50, n. 11. For Kipchaks, see supra, "Introd.," n. 17.

¹²⁸ Ibn al-Athir, XII, pp. 167-169; cf., Buniiatov, ibid., n. 12, who in turn refers to Pakhomov, "O Derbendskom khiazhestve XII-XIII vv.," p. 10 and A. Ali-Zade, op.cit.,p.360.

¹²⁹ Yaqut, Mucajam al-buldan, ed. (Beirut, 1957), II, p. 321; cf., Buniiatov, ibid., n. 13; Minorsky, Sharvan, p. 141, quotes the text using ed. Wistenfeld, III, p. 317.

¹³⁰ E. Pakhomov, "O Derbendskom," op.cit., p. 10.

unable to explain the possibility of two Shirvanshahs at the same time, he dismissed the whole episode as "probably simply a mistake of Ibn al-Athir, "131 and concluded by saying we do not know who this Rashid was. Buniiatov now points out that not only does Ibn al-Athir mention this episode, but other sources do also: al-CAinI, 132 Ibn Khaldun, 133 and Muhammad al-Hamavi. 134 To add final support to his argument that Rashid was indeed the Shirvanshah, ruling from Darband, Buniiatov brings a new passage from a manuscript of al-CAini. In this passage, which is quoted in full, we find that in 622/1225 the Georgians and the Muslims (i.e., Shirvanshahs) were at war. The reason was that the Shirvanshah Rashid, ruler of Darband, was defeated by his son with a coalition of the army and was driven out of the capital because of the bad life he led. Rashid begged the Georgians to come to his aid: the latter sent an army, but in a ferocious battle the Georgians and Rashid lost. Prior to the conflict Rashid's son has advised his father to retire to one of the fortified

¹³²al-caini, al-Muilad al-Rabac min tatrikh al-caini, MS, LOINA, S 350, vol. 3, f. 60, 6b., cf., Bunitatov, op.cit. p. 50.

¹³³ see n. 127.

¹³⁴al-Khamavī, <u>Ta'rīkh al-Mansurī</u>, ed. P.A. Graznevich (Moscow, 1960), f. 203b, "<u>Sahib al-Darband Shirvan</u>"; <u>cf.</u>, Buniiatov, op.cit., p. 50, n.15.

castles of the country, where he would see that Rashid would be well taken care of. After his defeat Rashid wandered from pillar to post, while his son ruled, strengthening the country and returning to the people all the things his father had taken from them. 135

Bunilatov's contention, that Rashid and not Garshasp, as Pakhomov and Ali-Zade stated, 136 who was the senior member of the Shirvanshah dynasty in the year 622/1225. Furthermore, since Yaqut tells us that ruler of Darband, the Shirvanshah, was brother of the ruler of Shamakhi, Bunilatov concludes that either Garshasp or Fariburz b. Garshasp was Rashid's brother. I would think that since Rashid himself had an adult son, as will be seen just below, that Garshasp is a more likely candidate and that Farrukhzad was the father of them both. Unfortunately we have neither numismatic nor inscriptional evidence on Rashid.

M. Jalal al-Din Sultanshah b. Shirvanshah (Rashid?) (circa 622/1225)

Al-Nasawi relates that when the Khwarazmshah Jalal

¹³⁵ Bunilatov, <u>ibid.</u>, p. 51, who also cites an article with the same reasoning, I.M. Dzhafarzade, "Arkheologicheskie raskopki v Bakinskoi bukhte," <u>Izv. AN Azerb. SSR</u> (1947), III, no. 7, pp. 7-8 (not accessible to me).

¹³⁶ Ali-Zade, op.cit., p. 360 and his "Iz istorii gosudarstva Shirvanshakhov v XIII-XIV vv.," Izv. LN Azerb. SSR (1949), vvp., 8, p. 90 (not available to me); cf., Buniiatov, op.cit., p. 52, n. 22.

al-Dīn siezed Tiflis in his campaign of 622/1225, he released a certain Jalāl al-Dīn Sultānshāh b. Shirvānshāh, who had been delivered to the Georgians as a hostage by his father, 137 and gave him as iqtāc the area of Shirvān called Gushtasfī. 138 Pakhomov had mentioned this Sultānshāh, but without further comment, in the same paragraph where he presents another episode from Ibn al-Athīr, recorded under year 622/1225, "in this year against the Shirvānshāh rose his son, robbed his kingdom, banished him from the country and after began his own rule. "139 Pakhomov felt it was probably Garshāsp who was dethroned by his son Farīburz III. 140 If we turn again to Buniiatov's short article, we see that he assumed that the events related by al-Caīnī, Ibn al-Athīr, al-Nasawī all in the same year, 622/1225, must be interrelated. Therefore, the ruler of Darband, the Shirvānshāh Rashīd is the father of

¹³⁷al-Masawi, ed. Houdas, p. 174, trans. p. 290; Minorsky, Sharvan, p. 136, n. 5, calls him an "orphan prince of Sharvan... who had been brought up as a Christian in order to be able to marry a daughter of the queen Rusudan;" cf., Buniiatov, same citation from al-Masawi, and also Ibn Khaldun, V, pp. 136-137.

¹³⁸ GushtasfI is on the lower Kur, Minorsky, Sharvan, p. 136, no. 5.

¹³⁹ Ibn al-Athir, XII, p. 176; Ibn Khaldun, V, p. 137; cf. Buniiatov, ibid., p. 51, n. 18; cf., Defrémery, op.cit. JA (1849), pp. 478-479.

¹⁴⁰ Pakhomov, Excursus, p. 41.

Jalal al-Dīn Sultānshāh b. Shirvanshāh. Then we must conclude that the events of 622/1225 went something like this. Jalal al-Dīn Sultānshāh b. Shirvanshāh (i.e., b. Rashīd), who had been held hostage by the Georgians having been given to them by his father Rashīd (perhaps at the time the latter asked for Georgian help to drive out the Kipchaks from Darband), lat was released in that year by Jalal al-Dīn the Khwārasmshāh when he captured Tiflis. Sultānshāh was awarded the fief (iqtāc) of Gushtasfī from which in the same year he moved against his father in Darband and drove him out of the city and ruled in his place.

There are some problems with Buniiatov's very interesting thesis. Not one source mentions the father and son's name together; we are not sure that it is these two persons who are related, especially if as Minorsky says, Sultanshah was an orphan at the time of his release by the Khwarazashah. 142 If as Ibn al-Athir says and al-Caini infers, Sultanshah did not return to Gushtasfi, but stayed on and ruled in Darband, his rule must have been very short, for according to al-Masawi about 624/1227 an infant prince was the titular ruler of Darband, but the actual governor was his atabeg al-Asad. 143

¹⁴¹ See supra, n. 130 and text there.

¹⁴² See supra, n. 137.

¹⁴³al-Nasawi, ed. Houdas, p. 174, trans. p. 289; cf. Minorsky, Sharvan, p. 141.

In fairness to Buniiatov it must be stated that his article does not involve itself with the events after 622/1225; indeed, Sultanshah may have been an infant in the hands of the army and his atabeg, and therefore, one and the same son as mentioned in Ibn al-Athir and al-CAThi.

Finally, as with Rashid so with Sultanshah, there is no numismatic evidence. If Shirvan was in the region of Darband (al-Bab) and RashId was the senior member of the Shirvanshah dynasty, why then don't we have any coins? Are we to assume that Garshasp and his son Fariburz III, probably ruling in Shamakhi, were striking coins for use in all of Shirvan? If so, why didn't they include Rashid's name if he was really the theoretical overlord? We just do not know the answers to these questions. It is interesting, but perhaps jumping toofar ahead, to note that after Garshasp, the title Shirvanshah is not used on coins. Rashid probably came to power in Darband in the later part of al-Nasir's caliphate, perhaps just before 618/1221, and then assumed hegemony over the rest of the dynasty. We know that there was an independent dynasty in Darband ruling for almost a century from the first quarter of the 6th/12th century to the beginning of the 7th/-13th century, the Maliks of Darband (see corpus, infra).

Though many of the details of Buniiatov's thesis are still in doubt, Rashid should probably be accepted as a member

either a brother of Garshasp or Fariburz III. The salso reasonably certain that for the period at hand several members of the dynasty were ruling simultaneously, perhaps with the same title of Shirvanshah. For the year 622/1225 Bunilatov places them as follows: in Darband, Rashid; in Gushtasfi, Jalal al-Din Sultanshah; in Shamakhi, Shahanshah, or Garshasp or his son Fariburz III, or, one might add, Fariburz II b. Afridun; 145 in Baku, Farrukhzad I or his son Garshasp; in Shakki and Kabali, in the west, Afridun b. Fariburz. By way of final proof Bunilatov mentions a

llili Buniiatov does just that, placing Jalal al-Din Sultanshah just below him, op.cit., chart p. 52.

Il could have been ruling as late as 622/1225 and perhaps in the west. He may be the same as al-Masawi's "Afridum b. Fariburz," see the next note, ruling in the west.

¹⁴⁶ Buniiatov has added on this ruler on whom we have no information except the testimony of al-Wasawi and Ibn Khaldun (supra, n. 100) that the Shirvanshah Afridun b. Fariburz came forward with tribute to the Khwarazashah Jalal al-Din in 622/1225. Not knowing exactly who this Afridun is Buniiatov has made him Afridun III the son of Fariburz III b. Garshasp without explanation. This must certaintly be revised. Since Fariburz III could have ruled up to 653/1256 (see infra under Fariburz III), he probably would have been too young in 622/1255 to have an adult son. Funiiatov's dynastic table contains another error. He has listed Afridun II and his son Fariburz II as son and grandson of Akhsatan II b. Minuchihr II. But we know that Afridun II was Akhsatan III's brother as attested by the coins of Fariburz II b. Afridun II b. Minuchihr II (supra, coins under no. 24). I would suspect this to be the mistake of a careless printer. Cf., also Minorsky, Sharvan, p. 120 and Hasan, p. 40, n. 3.

group of stones, reported by Pakhomov, rising out of the bottom of the Bay of Bākū. They seem to date from a somewhat later period, 632/1234-5, but they are important to the present discussion, because they contain the names of four of the above mentioned Shirvanshāhs: Farīburz, Garshāsp, Jalāl al-Dīn, and Shāhānshāh. 147

N. Fariburz III b. Garshasp b. Farrukhzad b. Minüchihr II (circa 622/1225 to 641/1243-653/1255)

32A. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Nasir.

OpA.

The Supreme Malik

الملك المعظم

Fariburz son of Garshasp

son of Farrukhzad son of Minuchihr.

Rev.

[&]quot;Utochnenie daty kreposti v Bakinskoi bykhte," <u>Izv. AsFAN(1941)</u>, no. 1, p. 90. Unfortunately, I have not been able to examine this article at first hand, and, therefore, I am very uncertain as to the juxtaposition of these names. Does this indicate that all of these rulers were living at the same time in 632/-1134-5? If so the dates of all four of these Shirvanshahs must be revised and reorganized.

Markov. Inventarnyi, p. 396, no. 39 (on the reverse the first line of the formula of faith is worn off on Markov's example; the reading supplied by Pakhomov); Pakhomov, Excursus, p. 40 (a general type rather than specific coin) (reference to Markov).

32X. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Masir.

Insufficiently described for further classification.

Markow, Inventarny, p. 396, no. 39 ("same, different die"); Pakhomov, "Monetnye nakhodki 1924 III," p. 76 (five examples), cf., to the same hoard, Pakhomov, Klady, I, Hill (neither citation has description); Pakhomov, Klady, II, H431 (two examples, no description); Pakhomov, Klady, VII, H1804 (one example, no description).

These coins might indicate that Garshasp died shortly before 622/1225 and Farlburz III began his rule in Shamakhi. However, if the inscription that Pakhomov reported in 1947 with the name of Garshasp and the date 630/1233-4 indicates that he was still ruling at that date, then we must reexamine these coins of Farlburz III with al-Masir's name. 148 They may indicate that Fariburz began ruling in another part of the state and only later, after his father's death, came to the capital. On the other hand Garshasp himself may have given up the central government to his son and then retired to the Baku area. If he were living as late as the above mentioned inscription would indicate, the fact that we have no coins struck under the caliphate of al-Mustansir (623/1226-640/1242), would tend to support the idea of a less active life. We simply can give no definite answer to the question

¹⁴⁸ supra, n. 120.

of how long and exactly where father and son ruled.

Around 1223/620 according to the Georgian Chronicle, the Shirvanshah asked to marry the Georgian princess, Rusadan, sister of King Giorgi Lasha and daughter of Queen Thamar. The offer was accepted, but on his way to the ceremony King Giorgi died at Bagavan and the wedding was called off. Perhaps this Shirvanshah was Farlburz III, but then again it could have been Garshasp or any of the other "Shirvanshahs" of the period.

33A. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Mustansir (623/1226-640/1242).

Obv.

The Supreme Malik

(sic) علا الدنيا والدين ا ملاء Calā'al-Dunyā wa al-Din A (sic)

Farīburz son of Garshāsp

Defender of the Commander of the Faithful.

Rev.

There is no god but Allah.

Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah.

Al-Mustansir billah

السنتصر بالله

Commander of the Faithful.

¹⁴⁹ Pakhomov, Excursus, p. 41 with reference to Brosset, Histoire de la Géorgie, I/1, pp. 495-496.

Markov, <u>Inventernyi</u>, p. 398, no. 42 (note the extra 'alif at the end of the second line of the obverse; since Pakhomov does not note it, we are not sure if it is a mistake); Pakhomov, <u>Excursus</u>, p. 40 (a general type rather than a specific coin; no <u>'alif</u> in second line of obverse).

33X. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Mustansir.

Insufficiently described for further classification.

Markov, Inventarnyl, p. 398, nos. 43-54 (12 examples;
"same, different dies").

34A. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Mustansir.

The Supreme Malik

Calā' al-Dunyā wa al-Dīn Abū Muzaffa

Parīburz son of Garshāsp

Defender of the Commander of

the Faithful.

Rev.

Field as no. 33A.

Markov, Inventarnyi, p. 398, no. 55 (two examples).

JAN. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Mustansir.

Insufficiently described for further classification.

Markov, Inventarnyi, p. 398, nos. 56-65 (12 examples; "same, different dies").

35. AE. No mint name. (6)40/(12)42-3. With caliph al-Mustansir.

ODY.

...(The Malik), The Just

...(The Malik), The Just

Cala: al-Dunya wa al-Din Abul Muzaffa

strict a son of Garshasp son of

Farrukhzad

Defender of the Commander of

the Faithful.

Rev.

Same as no. 33A for field.

Margin: ..., forty...,

Markov, <u>Inventarnyi</u>, p. 397, no. 40 (two examples; "place of striking clipped"), no. 41 (two examples; "same").

36X. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Mustansir.
Insufficiently described for further classification.

Pakhomov, "Monetnye nakhodki 1924," III, p. 76 (23 examples not described), cf., the same hoard Pakhomov, Klady, I, Hill; Pakhomov, Klady, II, Hill; Gour examples); Pakhomov, Klady, VII, H1804 (22 examples); BM (unpublished) AE 85 and AE 8 John Riley pres. (both show parts of the bead-square surrounding the reverse field; both irregular, w=5.84, 5.50 gr.); ANS, two examples (one oval-shaped with design above "Fariburz" on obverse and similar design or word (?) above al-Mustansir on reverse)(second very irregular with obverse field surrounded by a linear circle and with design over masir in last line and reverse in usual headed square) (w=4.02, 3.89 gr.), the second coin has part of the circular margin the obverse with the letters

.... showing.

The coins 33A-36 all date during the caliphate of al-Mustansir (623/1126-6+0/1242). During this period beside the dated coin of 640/1242 we have an inscription of 632/-1234-5 found on a fortress on an island in the Bay of Baku. 150 Between 633/1235 and 637/1239 the Mongols completed their conquest of the Caucasus. With the taking of Darband in 637/1239, the conquest of Shirvan and all of Adharbayjan had been completed. 151 Coins bearing Mongol names are actually not found in Shirvan until 653/1255-6, 152 but their presence was felt everywhere.

As mentioned elsewhere the Khwarazmshah Jalal al-Din, after a dozen years of busy activity in the Caucasus, Adharbayjan, al-Jibal, met an insignificant end at the hands of some Kurds in 629/1231 near Diyarbakr. 153 If we look back at his activities in Shirvan, we see that according to al-Nasawi, in 624/1226-7, his vizir, Sharaf al-Mulk, expelled

¹⁵⁰ pakhomov, "Utochnenie..," op.cit., pp. 89-90; see also Ali-Zade; op.cit., p. 365, n. 4, with following references: Pakhomov, "Obsledobanie razvalin kreposti v Bakinkoi bukhte," Izv. AzFAN (1940), no. 6; I.M. Dzhafarzade, "Arkheolog...," op.cit.; A.A. Ali-Zade, "Nekotorye svedenija o Shirvane (do na chala XIII v.)," Izv. AN Azerb. SSR (1947), no. 12, pp. 10-11.

¹⁵¹ Istorija Azerbajdzhana, op.cit., p. 178.

¹⁵² See infra, Akhsatan II b. Fariburz III.

¹⁵³ Juwaini, Boyle trans., II, p. 459 and n. 33; see supra, "Chap. Two," nn. 86-89.

the finance officials of Shirvan from Gushtasfi and collected 200,000 "barbaric" dinars. 154 It is interesting from our point of view that the irregularly struck coppers were perhaps considered nominally as dinars. Since we have little gold and no silver struck during this period, the reference is either to these or, more probably, to Byzantine gold circulating there.

37. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Musta sim (6+0/12+2-656/1258).

Oby.

[الملك المعظم] [The Supreme Malik]

Jalal (Cala' <u>siv.</u>) الدنيا والدين العنيا والدين الدنيا والدين (علا علا محاسب) الدنيا والدين والدين المؤسس [Faribur]z son of Garshasf (<u>sic</u>)

[Defend]er of the Commander of the Faithful.

Margin ... yearly
There is no god but....

Rey.

al-Musta csim billah

الستعصم بالله

Commander of the Faithful.

Dorn, Nova Supplementa, p. 149, no. 2 (Garshasf, نماسبف instead of Garshasp, کرشاسبف , in third line of obverse).

¹⁵⁴ Masavi, 0. Houdas, ed., text, pp. 173-174; cf., and discussion, Ali-Zade, Social no-egon..., op.cit., pp. 364-365, see also supra, "Chap. Two," nn. 148-149 for fuller discussion.

38. AE. No mint name or date; with caliph al-Mustacsim.

Obv.

The Supreme Malik

(sic) علا الدنيا والدين ا CAlā al-Dunyā wa al-Dīn A (sic)

Farīburz son of Garshāsp

ناصر أمير المؤمنين Defender of the Commander of the Faithful.

Margin: on four sides بالدالا الله , there is no god but Allah.

Rev.

There is no god but Allah.

Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah

al-Musta sim billah, Commander of

the Faithful.

Markov, <u>Inventarnyi</u>, p. 398, no. 66 (the third line of reverse seems too long as it is and might actually be put into two, adding a fourth line).

39%. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Mustacsim.
Insufficiently described for further classification.

Dorn, Nova Supplementa, p. 149, no. 3 (six examples);
Markov, Inventarnyi, p. 398, nos. 67-86 (20 examples;
"same, different dies"); Pakhomov, Excursus, pp. 40-41
(not fully described); BM, AE 7 (John Riley pres.) and
AE 95 (R.E. Way Esq. pres., k906), two examples (unpublished)(AE 7, w=7.34 gr.; both irregular and clipped);
ANS (w=8.46 gr.).

4CX. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Mustacsim.

ODY.

• • • • •

م الدنيا و al-Dunya wa ...

.... وربن کر... ... son of Gar...

• • • • •

Rev.

Allāh

Muhammad is the Messenger of

al-Musta^Csim

.... Commander of the Faith....

BM, AE 95, M. Soret pres., 1865 (somewhat tear-shaped) (unpublished?).

41. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Mustacsim.

Opa.

The Greatest Sultan

علا الدنيا والدين CAlā! al-Dunyā wa al-Din

تربیرزین کرشاسب FarIburz son of Garshasp

(Sic) نصر أمير المؤمنين Defender of the Commander of the

Faithful.

Rey.

There is no god but Allah

الله Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah

al-Musta sim billah

Commander of the Faithful.

Bartholomaei à Soret, RNB, 1859, pp. 455-456, no. 118 (illus. Pl. XVII, fig. 39, a,b,c)(three fragmentary examples).

is very curious. One cannot imagine to whom it might refer, unless to Fariburz himself. But certainly with the end of the Seljuq and Khwarazmian sultanate, the title had little importance. One cannot imagine that Fariburz felt the inheritor of this tradition. It must also be noted that a careful examination of the three fragmentary examples that Bartholomaei described reveals neither the word, nor any part of the word, "sultan." On nos. 118a and 118b, the entire top line of the obverse is effaced; on no. 118c, we read only (sic) ..., for the limit of the obverse is effaced; on the other issues of Fariburz, would have been more correct.

42. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Musta sim.

Obv.

Sultan (?)

Malik the Supreme

... المعاظم المعاظم المعاظم المعاظم المعاظم المعاظم المعاطم ال

Rey.

The same as no. 41? "Semblable à celui de la première variété."

Bartholomaei à Soret, RNB, 1862, pp. 98-99, no. 157 (the reading of "sultan" in the top line is questioned by the author).

As with the previous specimen, the title sultan does not seem reasonable. Even Bartholomaei seems to be doubtful. One also wonders about the reading the palik. It should either be al-malik or have dots before indicating a worn area.

43K. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Mustacsim.
Insufficient description for further classification.

Plate I

Blau, Odessa, p. 30, no. 345 (partially described; reference to Fraehn (Dorn), Nova Supplementa, p. 149, no. 2); Pakhomov, "Monetnye nakhodki 1924," III, p. 76 (110 pieces, not described) cf., same hoard, Pakhomov, Klady, I, Hlll (also not described); Pakhomov, Klady, II, H430 (one example), H431 (11 examples); Klady, IV, H1121 (two examples; d=13.5-18.0, 15.5 mm., w=3.36, 2.85 gr.), H1122 (three examples; d=22.5, 18.0, 22.0 mm., w=3.93, 5.49, 5.42 gr.), H1123, nos. 1-3; Pakhomov, Klady, VII, H1804 (80 examples, not described); ANS, two examples (obverse of the first indicates a design of dots, perhaps part of a rosette, around the field, the other shows part of a square (?) of dots around the reverse field)(d=18.0-24.0 mm., w=6.55 gr.; d=13.5-25 mm., w=5.94 gr.).

The mention of caliph al-Musta csim (640/1242-656/1258) limits the issues nos. 37-43 to the years 648/-1243-653/1255. The first year of possible stricking is obvious; for the last we have a coin of that date for

Fariburz III's successor Akhsatān III. The only concrete information on Fariburz III during the caliphate of al-Musta sim is an inscription found at the village of Khanekag by Dorn dated 641/1243-4 with the name Fariburz b. Garshāsp b. Farrukhsād b. Minūchihr. 155

We do not have enough information to know whether Fariburz was the only Shirvanshah ruling at his death. The last piece of evidence which could allow for more than one Shirvanshah ruling simultaneously is the inscription(s) dated 632/1234-5 in the Bay of Bakulfo mentioning four Shirvanshahs including Fariburs and his father Garshasp. Perhaps just after this date, or with the final Mongol occupation in 637/1239, Shirvan was unified with a single ruler for the purpose of collecting tribute. In any case after the late 630's/1230's the literary, inscriptional and numismatic evidence is silent on matters of multiple rule.

ЧХ. AE. No mint name or date.

Coins of Fariburz III b. Garshasp insufficiently described

Pakhomov, Bull. de l'Acad., IV, p. 386; cf. Pakhomov, Excursus, p. 41, n. 1; see also A. Ali-Zade, Soc-Ekon..., op.cit., p. 365. The inscription is reproduced in Répertoire chronologique, ap.cit. XI(1941), No. 4231, pp. 154-155.

¹⁵⁶ Supra, n. 147.

for further classification.

Blau, Odessa, p. 30, no. 346 (fragment); Pakhomov, "Monetnye nakhodki 1924," III, p. 76 (31 examples, not described), cf., to the same hoard. Pakhomov, Klady, I Hlll (also not described); Pakhomov, Klady, IV, Hll21 (one example), H1122 (one example); Pakhomov, Klady, VIII, H1977 (d=17.0-28.0 mm., t=2.0-2.7 mm., w=6.46 gr.) H1978 (d=11.0-11.5 mm., t=2.0-2.5 mm., w=1.71 gr.); Pakhomov says, "From the inscription only the name Fariburz is understood," but the size and weight probably indicate Fariburz I or Fariburz II); Pakhomov, Klady, IX, H2114 (Pakhomov says, "Feriburz III b. Garshasp with the caliph al-Mustadi (556-575=1170-1180)" (siw); the reading must be rejected for that of either al-Mustansir or al-Musta'sim . The mistake I think can be excused for Pakhomov was in his 80's when he wrote this last in his series on hoards in the Caucasus.) (four examples; d=12.0-13.0, 9.0-14.0, 8.0-25.0, 12.5-15.0, t=2.3-2.5, 1.5-2.5, 1.0-2.0 mm., only three given, w=2.75, 1.67, 2.14, 1.85 gr.); BM, AE 8 and 9, R.E. Way pres., 1906, (two examples (unpublished), irregular, beaded borders); ANS, (two examples, irregular, beaded border on first; d=18.0-21.5, 19.0-22.0 mm., w=6.13, 5.51 gr.).

- 0. Akhsatan III b. Fariburz III b. Garshasp (circa 653/1255-circa 665/1266)
- 45A. AE. No mint name. 653/1255-6. With the Great Khan Möngke (646/1248-655/1257) and caliph al-Musta sim.
 - Obv. "L'avers est semblable à celui de la monnaie précédente." (our no. 40)(?)

[all] [There is no god but Allah].

[معد رسون الله] Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah].

[all [sl-Musta csim billah].

[اسرالمؤمنين] [Commander of the Faithful] .

Rev.

العادل الاعظم Mangā Qā ān

The Just, the Greatest.

The year, year three amus minus minus fifty, six hundred.

Barthomaei à Soret, RNB, 1859, pp. 456-457, no. 119 (illus., Pl. XVIII, fig. 40, reverse only) (Notre exemplaire a été surfrappé sur une monnaie de Féribours, (b. Garshasp), reference to <u>Bulletin scientifique</u> (1855), p. 100, nos. 366-7.

The coin creates many problems. If the obverse is like Barthomaei's no. 118 (our no. 40), how then is the coin attributed to Akhsatan? Surely, instead of amir of the faithful, one would expect "Akhsatan b. Fariburz" as found on other coins, see below.

45B. AE. No mint name. 653/1255-6 with caliph al-Mustacsim and the (Great Khan Möngke).

Obv. (in a square frame)

There is no god but Al...

Auhammad is the Messenger of Allah.

al-Musta sim billah.

Akhsatan ...

Rey.

*Semblable au revers d'une monnaie de la même date que nous avons décrite dans notre première lettre, r^. 119. La place a manqué pour le nom de Menkou Caan, et, en

outre, il ne paraît pas que le mot pu , ait pu trouver place. A l'avers du no. 119, nous avons lu, à la quatrième ligne, les mots: Enir des Fidèles, qui certainement ne figurent pas sur ce nouvel exemplaire."

Bartholomaei à Soret, RWB, 1864, p. 352, no. 42, (no. 119 is of course our no. 454).

45C. AE. No mint name. 653/1255-6. With caliph al-Musta csim and Great Khan Möngke.

Obv.

There is no god but Allah.

Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah.

(?) المستعمم بالله ضرب علي المستعمم بالله ضرب علي المستعمم بالله ضرب الله ضرب (؟)

Akhastan son of Fariburz.

Ray.

العادل الاعظم Mungkā Qā'ān

The Just, the Greatest
العادل الاعظم
In the year, year three
(sic) خمسين ستماية (sic)

Markov, <u>Inventarnyl</u>, pp. 399-407, no. 87 (two examples) (note the peculiar placing of , struck, on the obverse, but the actual date on the reverse).

45D. AE. No mint name. 653/1255-6. With caliph al-Mustacsim and [Great Khan Möngke]. Plate I Obv. (in a double linear circle)

...[Messenger of All[ah].

... csim billah.

.... نضعاً بن فريبkhsatān son of FarIbu

Rev. (border design clipped)

The Just, the Greatest بتاريخ سنة ثلاث In the year, year three

ANS (observe first and last lines clipped, in obverse the o, n, of Akhsatan, object, is placed above the the talif, instead after the talif) (d=17.0-27.5 mm., w=4.46 gr.).

45%. AE. No mint name. 653/1255-6. With caliph al-Mustacsim and Great Khan Möngke.

Insufficiently described for further classification.

Markov, Inventarnyi, pp. 399-400, nos. 88-101 (two examples under no. 96, therefore, 25 altogether); Pakhomov, Excursus, p. 42 (a general description rather than specific coin; spelling of Möngke, Ky.M. Sysoev, Kratkij ocherk istorii Azerbajdzhana (severnogo) (Baku, 1925), p. 73; A. Ali-Zade, Soc.-ekon..., op.cit., p. 367 (no specific coin, with references to Pakhomov, Excursus, and Sysoev, Kratkij); Pakhomov, Klady, IV, H123, nos. 6-7; Pakhomov, Klady, VII, H180+ (16 examples from hoard at Jagan in the Shamakhi region, with 653/1254, al-Mustacsim and Möngke).

It is not altogether clear why the coins of this issue are dated 653/1255-6. The great Mongol Khan Möngke ruled from

649/1251-657/1259. The caliph al-Musta sim remained ruler in Baghdad until its capture by Hulagu in 656/1258. Perhaps it was to honor the date of Akhsatan II's succession. Our only other piece of information for the early period of Akhsatan's reign is an inscription found by Dorn in the village of Khanekag dated 654/1256 mentioning Akhsatan and his father Fariburs III. 157 As with Fariburz III, Shirvan seemed to keep a degree of autonomy under Mongol rule. The very fact that the caliph's name is mentioned with the Mongol Khan not only indicates the relative autonomy of Shirvan, but also a sensible rolicy of respect to all potential centers of authority.

46. AE. No mint name or date. With the Great Khan Kubilay (658/1260-693/1294). Plate I

Opa.

تا ان **Qā'ā**n **الحاد The Just**.

Rev. (in a double linear circle)

There is no god but Allah.

Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah.

Akhsatan son of Fariburz.

¹⁵⁷ Dorn, Bull. de l'acad., IV, pp. 362 and 368 (makes the usual reading of Faramarz for Fariburz); cf. Pakhomov, Excursus, p. 42 and Ali-Zade, Soc.-ekon..., op.cit., p. 368.

Margin: (?)

Dorn, Nova Supplementa, p. 149, nos. 4,5,6 (the last with six examples); Bartholomaei à Soret, RMB, 1859, p. 457, no. 120 (illus., Pl. XVIII, fig. 41); Markov, Inventarnyi, pp. 400-401, nos. 102-122 (with two examples of no. 109, therefore 22 examples altogether) (border of no. 112 read Khaqan (?); other varieties in the tamgha postion); Pakhomov, Excursus, p. 42 (general description, not a specific coin); Pakhomov, Elady, IV, H1124 (with tamgha; w=3.74 gr.); ANS (obverse border clear, traces of a marginal inscription; irregular, d=17.5-22.0 mm., w=8.71 gr.).

In 656/1258 Hūlāgū took Baghdad and ended the Abbāsid caliphate. Then and especially after the death of Möngke in 657/1259, he began to rule in Iran and the Middle East independently. These coins were most certainly struck after the death of al-Musta sim, the last Abbāsid caliph, since there is no mention of his name, and under the direct suzerainty of Hūlāgū or his son and successor Abāghā Khān (663/1265-680/1285), but the Qā'ān al-cādil, refers to the Great Khān Kubilāy. Since we have an inscription of of Farrukhzād II b. Akhsatān II dated 665/1266-7 (for which

¹⁵⁸ For an excellent summary of these events see the standard source, B. Spuler, <u>Die Mongolen in Iran</u> (Leipzig, 1939), see sections in first chapter on Möngke, Hulagu, and Abagha; Turkish, trans., C. Köprülü, Iran Mogollari (Ankara, 1957), pp. 49-89. See also <u>supra</u>, "Introd.," n. 8, and "chap. Two," nn. 97-98 and text.

¹⁵⁹G. Lang, op.cit., p. 41, speaking of Georgian issues under Hulagu says In spite of the practically independent status of Hulagu and his line, they continued for the time being to acknowledge the supreme overlordship of the Great Khaqan Khubilay at Daidu. The formula Qa'an alcadilon the coins of Hulagu and Abagha refers not to the Il-Khans themselves, but to Khubilay."

see below), this issue must date from the years 656/1258-665/1266-7. The striking may have taken place specifically after 662/1263 Yeshmut, Abagha's brother, was made governor of Aran and Adharbayjan. 160

Finally, we have as our last known issue of this branch of the Shirvanshahs, the following anonymous coppers.

47. AE. Shīrvān. Date effaced. With the Great Khan Kubiley.

Oby. (in a square)

There is no god but

Allah. Muhammad

is the Messenger of Allah.

Margin: ...

Rev. (border not indicated, a circle ?)

قال **Qātān 3-E**المادل The Just.

Margin: ضرب , struck (position not stated)

right: شيروان Shīrvān

top: floral design,

¹⁶⁰B. Spuler, op.cit., trans., p. 386.

Markov, Inventarnyi, p. 401, no. 123 (two examples).

These anonymous coins bearing the mint mark Shirvan were struck either during the reigns of Akhsatan III or perhaps his son Farrukhzad II. Perhaps other examples, in which the date is legible, may some day be found which will help us date them more precisely.

P. Farrukhsad II b. Akhsatan III (circa 665/1266)

We are not sure when Farrukhzad became Shirvanshah, but it was certainly by 665/1266 for which date we have an inscription from Khanekag first reported by Dorn. 161 The inscription read Farrukhzad b. Akhsatan b. Farlburz b. Garshasp. Another inscription was reported by Berezin from the village of Bibi-Kibat with Farrukhzad b. Akhastan b. Farlburz, but there is some controversy about it. 162

During this period Shirvan seemed to be caught in the middle of the struggle between Berke Khan of the Golden Horde and Abagha of the Il-Khanids. Shirvan seems to have

¹⁶¹ Dorn, Bull. de l'Acad., IV, p. 362; cf., Pakhomov, Excursus, p. 43 and A. Ali-Zade, Soc.-ekon..., op.cit., pp. 369-370, (ref. to Dorn has p. 388).

¹⁶² I.N. Berezin, <u>Puteshestvie po Vostoku</u>, vol. II (Kazan, 1852) (addition), p. 66. See discussions, <u>Pakhomov</u>, <u>Excursus</u>, p. 42, and <u>Ali-Zade</u>, <u>Soc.-ekon...</u>, <u>op.cit.</u>, p. 369, n. 1; also, Sysoev, <u>op.cit.</u>, p. 73.

changed hands several times in this period. 163

We have no numismatic data for Farrukhsad II, unless some of the anonymous Qatan type, no. 47, were struck under his rule; this would seem to be a distinct possibility.

48X. AE. AR. No mint names or dates

Coins ascribed to the Shirvanshahs but insufficiently described for further classification.

Pakhomov, "Monetnye nakhodki 1924," III, (54 examples; 22 with al-Nasir, 32 with name of Shirvanshah and caliph worn); cf., same hoard, Pakhomov, Klady, I, Hlll; Pakhomov, Cabinet of the Univ. of Baku (Baku, 1928), (4 examples, one copper, three billon); Pakhomov, Klady, I, Hlo8 (346 copper and billon coins belonging to the 6th/12th-7th/13th centuries, including Minuchihr b. Afridun, Akhsatan b. Minuchihr, Shahanshah b. Minuchihr (these published, see no. 23 above with references), etc.; for the most part now in the Hermitage) (with reference to I.A.K., 1907, pp. 118 and 136; I have not seen this article.); H119 (33 "funta, pounds (?), of Shirvanshah coppers) (reference to I.A.K., 1895, pp. 53 and 179; I have not seen this article); Pakhomov, Klady, II, H+31 (six examples, no names visible), H+32 (16 examples, 6th/12th-7th/13th centuries, Garshasp, Fariburz III, Akhsatan II) with references to Zap. im. rus. arkh. obshch, III (1887), vyp. 2, p. 278, and I.A.K., no. 14, no pages; I have seen neither of these), H-33 (278 dark bronze 7th/13th cent. Shirvanshah and I.A.K., no. 14, no pages; I have seen neither or on these), H433 (278 dark bronze 7th/13th cent. Shirvanshah)?

coins (same references as hoard H432, except first is on the
al-Masir, w=1.72), H123, nos. 4-5 (caliph's name worn);

Pakhonov, Klady, VI, H1615 (one example), H1616 (one
example), H1617 (one example), H1618 (d=9.j=12 mm.,
t=2.4 mm, w=1.91 gr.); Pakhomov, Klady, VII, H1799 (two
examples), H1804 (30 examples, either Garshasp or Fariburz
III). Pakhomov, Klady, VIII, H1070 with al-Masir (d=12-11) III); Pakhomov, Klady, VIII, H1979 with al-Nasir (d=12-14 mm., t=2.5 mm., w=1.71 gr.); Pakhomov, Klady, IX, H2113 (irregular with al-Masir; d=15.0-2.4 mm., t=2.5-3.5 mm., w=7.13 gr.)

¹⁶³ Ali-Zade, ibid., p. 369 ff. for discussion.

The dynasty continued into the late 8th/14th century, but there is at least one lapse in the genealogy and in general very little material. From another inscription at Khanekag we have the names malik Garshasp (?) or Gushtasp (?) b. Akhsatan; the inscription is dated 693/1293-4. 164 After there is a break from the main branch and then three more rulers: Kay-Qubad, Ka'ūs b. Kay-Qubad, and Hūshang b. Ka'ūs It is not within the scope of this thesis to discuss these rulers. What information we have and an analysis of it will be found in the pages of Dorn, 165 Pakhomov, 166 Minorsky, 167 and Ali-Zade. 168

¹⁶⁴ Dorn, Bull de l'Acad., IV, pp. 362 and 388, cf., references and discussionin Pakhomov, Excursus, p. 43 and Ali-Zade, Soc.-ekon..., op.cit., p. 370,

^{165&}quot;Bericht, op.cit. ("Chap. One," n. 84); also idem, "Versuch," op.cit., pp. 554 ff.

¹⁶⁶ Excursus, pp. 17-19, 26, 43-46.

^{167&}lt;u>sharvan</u>, pp. 129, 130, 134-136.

¹⁶⁸ soc.-ekon..., op.cit., pp. 370-371.

III. CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

All the new details uncovered by the preparation of the corpus will not be presented here, but only the most significant points. The first among these is the continuity in the Shirvanshah dynasty from the 2nd/8th to the late 7th/13th century. The various issues of Fariburz b. Salar effectively bridge the gap artificially created by later sources between the earlier so-called Yazidid branch and the 5th/11th-7th/13th century Shirvanshahs, the so-called Kasranids or Khaqanids. By the 5th/11th century the formerly Arab origin of the dynasty has become completely submerged under the iranizing influence of the local population.

The general chronology of the dynasty has been completed almost exclusively from numismatic evidence. In the corpus the reigning years of Fariburz I, Minuchihr I, Minuchihr II, Akhsatān I, and Garshāsp I, have been revised and corrected from those given in the previous literature. Furthermore, the theme that more than one member of the family was ruling simultaneously with the title of Shirvānshāh has been developed. This multiple rule may have started at the beginning of the 6th/12th century among the sons of Fariburs I. A century later, in the early 7th/13th century, as many as eight can be shown to be Shirvānshāhs at approximately the same time.

A unique coin of Minuchihr II firmly shows for the first time that Shamakhi was the capital of Shirvan during

the mid-6th/12th century. The same coin also demonstrates that Shirvan was in close touch with events in Adharbayjan and al-Jibal surrounding the Seljuqs of Iraq and their Ildegiz atabegs by the mention of sultan Sulayman b. Muhammad who ruled for only a few months in 555/1160. The names of the reigning caliph and the ruling Seljuq sultan are mentioned on the coins without exception, indicating that Shirvan was during the entire period firmly within the Islamic community. However, they maintained their independence, if at times limited, throughout these troubled years, even during the Khwarazmian and Mongolian occupations, as attested to by a continuous minting of coins.

By a reattribution of a copper coin from Minuchihr I to Minuchihr II, a consistent pattern of decline in the metal composition has been demonstrated by the corpus. Silver became debased towards the end of the 5th/11th century, turned to billon in the early 6th/12th century, and finally, exclusively to copper in the middle of the same century. Of all the dynasties in this study, this was the last to show the effects of the silver crisis. The copper coinage is exclusively irregular, reflecting the isolated, local economy of the area. Shirvanshah money has not been found in hoards outside the immediate territory of Shirvan; none was found at Dvin.

The Shirvanshah; displayed aggressiveness during the whole of the 5th/llth-7th/l3th centuries, especially towards Darband. They definitely absorbed the latter city by the beginning of the 7th/l3th century. The numismatic data is of little help in this respect. The lack of mint names, except for the unique Shamakhi and a late "Shirvan," deprives us of one of our best numismatic tools. The corresponding lack of dates has also made the task of chronology more difficult than normal.

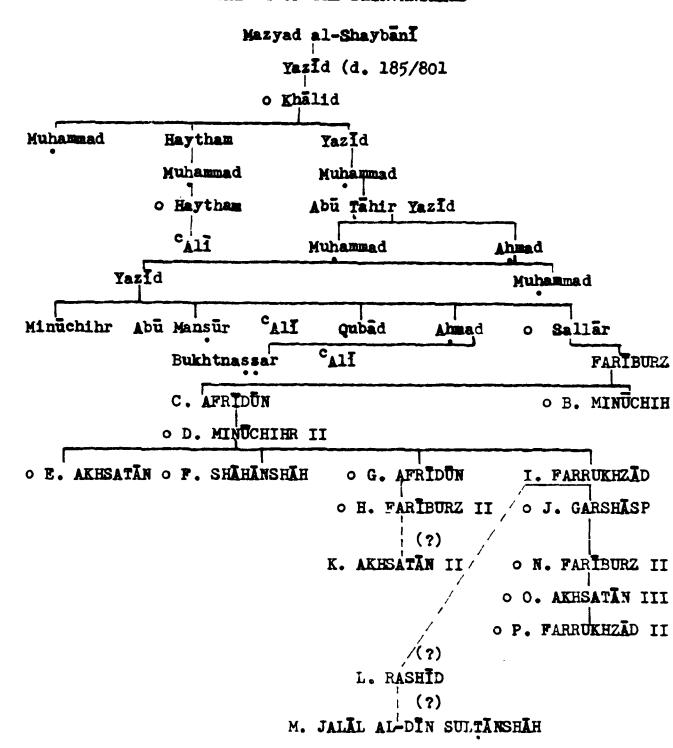
Dorn's original list of Shirvanshahs from the socalled Kasranid dynasty had five rulers up to the end of
the 7th/13th century; this corpus listssixteen. The
majority of them were discovered through numismatic investigations. Even now with our much improved understanding
of Shirvan history, there is much basic information that
needs to be known. Little is to be expected in the way of
new literary sources, but there is hope that more numismatic
discoveries will clear up some of the problems of sovereignty
and chronology.

THE DATES OF THE SHIRVANSHAHS LISTED IN THE CORPUS

- A. Fariburz b. Salar (455/1063 to 487/1094-489/1096)
- B. Minuchihr b. Fariburz (487/1094-489/1096 to 489/1096-511/1117)
- C. Afridum b. Fariburz (post 489/1096-514/1120)
- D. Minuchihr II b. Afridun (514/1120-circa 55/1160)
- E. Akhsatan b. Minuchihr II (post 555/1160 to 593/1197-600/1203-4)
- F. Shahanshah b. Minuchihr II (circa 575/1180 to circa 600/1203)
- G. Afridum II b. Minuchihr II (sometime during 583/1187-600/1203)
- H. Farīburz II b. Afrīdun II b. Minuchihr II (sometime during 583/1187-600/1203)
- I. Farrukhzad I b. Minuchihr II (583/1187-600/1203 to before 622/1225)
- J. Garshasp b. Farrukhzad b. Minuchihr II (from sometime after 600/1203 to circa 630/1233-4)
- K. Akhsatan II b. (Fariburz II ?) (circa 582/1187)
- L. Rashid b. (Farrukhsad ?) (circa 618/1221)
- M. Jalal al-Din sultanshah b. Shirvanshah (Rashid ?) (circa 622/1225)
- N. Farīburz III b. Garshāsp b. Farrukhzād b. Minūchihr II (circa 622/1225 to 641/1243-653/1255)
- O. Akhsatan III b. Fariburz III b. Garshasp (circa 653/1255-circa 665/1266)
- P. Farrukhzad II b. Akhsatan III (circa 665/1266)

See the genealogical table on the following page.

GENEALOGY OF THE SHIRVANSHARS



The early genealogy of the dynasty is based on the Ta'rikh al-Bab, ed. Minorsky, Sharvan, op.cit., pp. 22-41; Zambaur's table (Manuel, pp. 181-182) needs correction. The names written in capital letters are listed in the corpus under the lettered section. A small circle (o) before a name indicates that coins exist for that ruler. The dates for the Shirvanshahs considered in this study are given on the previous page.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE MALIKS OF DARBAND CORPUS

I. INTRODUCTION

The 6th/12th century Maliks of Darband claimed descendence from the 3rd/9th-5th/11th Arab amirs of that city. The Ta'rikh al-Bab as preserved by Minejjim-bashi contains a detailed history of these rulers. Amirs, appointed as representatives of the Umayyads, and then of the Cabbasids, succeeded one another, until 255/869 Hashim b. Suraqa al-Sulami became the ruler of al-Bab and the marches. He gained independence and after him his descendents possessed Darband one after another. Their end came about 470/1077; their domination lasted 215 years. In the late 470's/1070's the city was caught in a struggle between these local amirs, the Shirwanshahs and the Shaddadids ruling in Arran. For a short period Afridun b. Fariburs I

¹⁰n the Tairikh see supra, "Chap. One", nn. 4-7 and the text there.

These details have been excerpted directly from the <u>Ta'rikh</u>; V. Minersky, <u>Sharvan</u>, text, p. 16, trans., p. 41.

³⁰n the Shaddadids, supra, "Introd.," nn. 12, 13, 15.

was appointed as local governor in Darband. But the age long ambition of Shirvan to annex al-Bab was temporarily thwarted when sultan Malikshah gave Darband and the surrounding areas to his lieutenant Sau-tegin as iqta. This was in 468/1075, the year in which the narrative in the Tairikh al-Bab on Darband ends; unfortunately, Münejjim-bashi provides no further information to bring the history of al-Bab into the next century.

Only after the first quarter of the 6th/12th century is there any concrete reference to the rulers of Darband.

The Hispano-Arab traveler Abu-Hamid al-Andalusi al-Gharnati visited al-Bab sometime between 524/1130-545/1150. In his Tuhfat al-Albab he says the local ruler was Sayf al-Din Muhammad b. Khalifa al-Sulami. The nisba is characteristic and suggests that this Muhammad was a continuator of the dynasty of the Sulami Hashimids described in the Tarikh al-Bab."

HIbid., text, pp. 14-16, trans., pp. 38-41; the details are given supra, "Chap. Three," n. 32.

On Sau-tegin, the amir of the two Iraqs, see supra, "Chap. Two," nn. 44 and 47 and discussion there. On the revenue grant (iqtac) system, loc. cit., nn. 68-70 and text there.

Ed. G. Ferrand, JA (1925), p. 85; cf., Minorsky, Sharvan, p. 139, and E.A. Pakhomov, "O derbendskom kniazhestve XII-XIII vv., "op.cit., p. 4.

Minorsky, Sharvan, ibid. The misba is that part of a name which shows the family or geographical origin.

A few years later Ibn al-Azraq, while accompanying king Dimitri of Georgia on an inspection tour of the northeastern frontier near Daghestan, met the ruler of Darband, Amir Abūl-Muzaffar, when the latter came forward to greet Dimitri, his father-in-law. This Abūl-Muzaffar is one and the same as Muzaffar b. Muhammad Khalifa, the Malik of Darband whose coins begin the corpus.

A. Bartholomaei was the first to report on coins of these maliks. Unfamiliar with the names on the coins he designated the dynasty the Kings of Karabagh, after the area near where they were first found; he later changed Kings to the less pretentious Maliks. F. Soret, unsatisfied by this attribution and at the same time noting the regular mention of the Seljuq sultan, speculated that the dynasty might be a branch of the Seljuqs in Adharbayjan. Both names remained in use up to this century. Pakhomov finally

⁸ Tairikh Mayvafariqin (supra, "Chap. One," n. 34), MS, BM, Or. 5803, f. 64a; reference from Minorsky, ibid.

⁹Bull. hist.-phil. de l'Acad., XIV (1857), p. 249; see also supra, "Chap. One", n. 96 for discussion.

¹⁰RNB (1859), p. 435.

^{11&}lt;sub>RN</sub> (1859), p. 482.

¹²Markov, <u>Inventarnvi</u>, pp. 390-391, and Pakhomov prior to 1930, use Seljuqs of Adharbayjan; Zambaur, <u>Manuel</u>, p. 194, and østrup, <u>Cat. Copenhagen</u>, <u>op.cit.</u>, pp. 133-134, use Kings and Princes of Karabagh respectively.

solved the riddle of these rulers and properly named them the Maliks of Darband. Minorsky has followed this appellation. 14

Besides the coins and the three courses cited above, the Ta'rīkh, Ibn al-Azraq, and Abū-Hamid al-Gharnatī, there is mention of these sovereigns by the poets Baylaqanī, Khāqānī and Nizāmī, 15 and the Georgian Chronicle. The latter work refers to the ruler of Darband just before our corpus begins. "In 1120 A.D. = 514 A.H. the rulers of Shirvan and Darband having come to blows, Afrīdūn was killed and the people of Shirwan cut to pieces." The amīr of Darband was perhaps Muhammad b. Khalīfa the father of Muzaffar; since Muzaffar ruled until at least 559/1164, as attested to by dated coins, he probably would have been too young in 514/1120.

There is numismatic evidence for the three subsequent Maliks, Muzaffar, his son Bekbars, and Abd-al-Malik b. Bekbars. For the last ruler there is only a single rare issue struck during the caliphate of al-Masir. Beyond this we know

¹³ See n. 6 and supra. "Chap. One," n. 96.

¹⁴ Sharvan, Annex II, pp. 139-141.

¹⁵ Minorsky, ibid., p. 140 with reference to Badic al-Zaman, Sokhanyaran (no plate or date given), II/1, pp. 261, 342.

^{16&}lt;sub>M.</sub> Brosset, <u>Histoire de la Géorgie</u>, <u>op.cit.</u>, I/1, p. 364, cited and translated by H. Hasan, <u>Falaki</u>, pp. 7-8.

nothing more about these <u>maliks</u>. By the end of the first quarter of the 7th/13th century Darband was under the control of Shirvan. 17 Perhaps the dynasty in a very much weakened condition continued to survive. Two rulers of al-Bab in the early 7th/13th century, now with the title Shirvanshah, had the names Rashid and Jalal al-Din Sultanshah b. Shirvanshah, which stand out sharply against the unbroken series of Iranian names during this period. Is it possible that the Maliks of Darband formed an alliance by marriage with the Shirvanshahs? This could explain their Arab names because they would have been descendents of the Maliks of Darband, and their title because of marital connections with the Shirvanshahs. Whatever may have happened, Darband remained firmly in the control of Shirvan for the rest of the 7th/13th century.

The coins of this dynasty are exclusively of the "irregular" copper variety. 18 Their shape and striking are totally haphazard; their size usually very small. Round shaped specimens are sometimes encountered, but their regular form is completely accidental. On most coins about half of

¹⁷ For a full discussion of the two rulers Rashid and Jalal al-Din, both called Shirvanshahs, see <u>supra</u>, "Chap. Three," Section II, L and D.

¹⁸ For a discussion of "regular" and "irregular" copper see <u>supra</u>, "Chap. Two," Section II E.

any die appears; the planchets of the more than 200 hundred pieces examined during this study were, without a single exception, inadequate to receive a full die impression.

Often the obverse and reverse were struck with the same die. Therefore, all legends in the corpus are composites, formed by the use of many samples. Only a single issue of Musaffar is dated; there are no mint names. The reigning Cabbasid caliph is consistently mentioned as well as the Seljuq sultan of Iraq, but only one sultan, Muhammad b. Mahmud, is referred to by name. The coins are found mostly around Darband, sometimes in Shirvan, and rarely south of the Kur River.

The corpus will be followed by some observations and a genealogical table.

II. THE CORPUS

- A. Muzaffar b. Muhammad b. Khallfa (circa 530/1136 to circa 566/1170)
- 1A. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Muqtaff (530/1136-555/1160) Plate II

ODY.

الملك العادن The Just Malik
[الملك العادن محمد [ابن] Muzaffar son of Muhammad [son of]

ليعة معين Khallfa, Helper of بيعة معين the Commander of the Faithful.

Rev.

There is no god but Allah.

Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah.

al-Muqtafi liamirllah.

The Supreme Sultan.

Markov, <u>Inventarnyi</u>, p. 390, nos. 7-8 (irregular and defective; obverse, first line and chain missing, second and third lines partial; reverse, last line missing); ANS. five examples (area where & , bin, should be on third line, clipped on all specimens; all irregular, d=16-17, 14.5-16, 16-23, 19-20.5, 19-24.5 mm., w=4.43, 4.71, 5.54, 5.86, 7.91 gr.; floral designs found here and there on obverses).

IX. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Muqtafi.

المك العادل The Just Malik.

المك العادل المدال العادل Muzaffar son of Muhammad son of خليفة معين Khallfa, Helper of خليفة معين the Commander of the Faithful.

(Words thus distributed?)

Rev.

إلا الله الا الله] وThere is no god but Allah.] وحمد رسون الله] وسعد رسون الله Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah.]

المنتفى أمر الله al-Muqtafī liamrillah.

السلطان المعضم The Supreme Sultan.

(Words thus distributed?)

Pakhomov, "O derbendskom", p. 3, type II (not referring to any particular coin and not broken down into lines; note the bin in the second line of the obverse.)

2A. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Muqtafi.

[المك العادل [The Just Malik]

[سطفر بن محمد بن] Muzaffar son of Muhammad son of]

22121111

خليفة معين Khallfa, Helper of خليفة معين The Commander of المرافينين [the] Faithful.

Rey.

[الله] [There is no gold but A [llah]. وحناه لا شمروت له] [alon]e. He has no associated. لا أمر [الله] [المتلفى لا أمر [الله] [The Sulltan The Sup[reme].

ANS, one example (very irregular and badly struck; d=15.0-20.5 mm., w=4.15 gr.).

2B. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Muqtadi.

Rey.

As 2A.

ANS (circular and seemingly regular, but struck badly; first and second lines of obverse missing, the last two partial; first line of reverse missing, others partial)(d=14.0-14.5 mm., w=3.10 gr.)

We are not sure when Muzaffar began his reign, probably not earlier than the first year of al-Muqtafi's caliphate, 530/-1136, before which date no coins have come to light. The reign of his father Muhammad b. Khalifa may have extended back to 514/1120 when the Georgian Chronicle refers to Darband as though it were independently ruled. 19 Therefore, sometime during the weakening of the authority of the Great Seljuq Empire after the death of Malikshah in 485/1092, the descendents of the Sulami Hashimid amirs succeeded in regaining control of al-Bab from the Seljuq governor, Sau-tegin or one of his successors, 20 and revived the local dynasty. Whether this was done by Muhammad or his father Khalifa is at present unknown.

Until the dated issue of 555/1160 there is no guide for the chronological arrangement of Muzaffar's coins except the dates of the reigning caliphs. The positioning of the legends and the ornamental motifs have also been used

¹⁹ Supra, the text at n. 16.

²⁰ See supra, n.5.

in classification. The order of issues is at best tentative; of course those with al-Muqtafl on them were struck before those which mention his successor, al-Mustanjid.

3A. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Muqtafi.

Oby. (in a circular chain)

The Malik الملك

Muzaffar مظفر

بن محمد son of Muhammad.

Rev.

There is no god but Allah, alone. There is no associate

SSSSSS

to Him. al-Muqtafi [liamr-] لد المفتفى [لأمر] Allah. The Sultan الله السلطان the Supreme.

ANS, four examples (one has an almost complete obverse, but the rest have fragmentary legends throughout; obverse occasionally has three dots scattered here and there between the lines)(d)12-14, 12-15, 15-16, 20-21 mm., w=2.02, 2.17, 5.09, 7.30 gr., all irregular).

3B. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Muqtafi.

Obv. same as 3A.

Rev. same as 3A, but with chain slanting to the left and the error for in the third line.

ANS (fragmentary; d=15-20.5 mm., w=4.81 gr.).

3C. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Muqtafi.

Obverse and reverse the same, but apparently no chain on reverse side.

ANS, two examples (one seems to have a floral design outside the circular chain of the obverse; both are fragmentary)(d=16-21, 18-21 mm., w=5.14, 5.39 gr.).

3D. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Muqtafi.

Obv. (in a circular chain)

المك The Malik
المك Muzaffar son of
مطغر بين
Muhammad.

Rev. same as 3C, no chain visible.

B.N., M2010 (fragmentary, irregular d=approx. 15.5-18.5 mm., cast in ANS); ANS, two examples (fragmentary, on one $\dot{\phi}$, does not actually show; d=15-16, 17-19 mm., w=3.86, 5.02 gr.).

3X. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Muqtafi.

Full obverse legend and last three lines of reverse given, but not distributed into lines.

Pakhomov, "O derbendskom," p. 3, type III (a general type rather than specific coin).

4A. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Muqtafi.

Obv. (in a linear circle)

There is no god but Allah.

Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah.

The] Just Malik Muzaffar

Son of Muhammad.

Rev. (in a linear circle)

[اله الا الله] [There is no god but Allah]. وحد، لا شريك وله] alone. [He has] no associate. المقتفى لأمر الله al-Muqtaff liamfillah.

The Supreme Sultan.

ANS, six examples (four are very fragmentary; if they were more complete they might show other variations) (floral designs and stars scattered here and there; d=10-14, 13-15, 15.5-18, 16-21, 14.5-24, 20.23.5 mm., w=1.65, 2.03, 4.12, 4.37, 5.32, 7.27 gr.).

4B. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Muqtafi.

Both obverse and reverse struck with an obverse die

similar to obverse of 4A.

ANS, three examples (on all three the dies on each side are different, though similar; all are fragmentary, d=14-17, 11-24 (sic), 20-25 mm., w=2.73, 4.91, 7.57 gr.).

4C. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Muqtafl.

Both obverse and reverse struck with a reverse die

similar to the reverse of 4A.

ANS (the dies are different on each side, fragmentary; d=10.5-19 mm., w=2.38 gr., very irregular).

4D. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Muqtafi.

Obv. Like 4A. The al- of al-malik, الملك is clearly visible.

Rev. Same as 4A, but العالا الله in third line is misspelled, the first line العالا الله is quite clear on some examples.

Bartholomaei à Soret, RNB, 1859; p. 436, no. 89 (illus. Pl. XVI, fig. 24, a line drawing which clearly shows the spelling error, even though the description proper indicates y; Oxford, Ashmolean, ex-Thornburn collection (irregular); ANS, five examples (all irregular and fragmentary, floral designs, dots and other markings scattered here and there; d=11-12.5, 15-15.5, 15-19.5, 17 (sic, quite round, but still irregularly struck), 18-20.5 mm., w=1.74, 3.25, 3.97, 5.04, 6.67 gr.).

4E. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Muqtafi.

Both obverse and reverse struck with a reverse die similar to the reverse of 4D.

ANS (the dies are different on each side, fragmentary; d=13-17.5, w=3.27 gr.).

4F. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Muqtafl.

Obv. (in a linear circle)

There is no god but Allah.

Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah.

The Malik

the Just, Muzaffar son of

Muhammad.

Rev. Like 4D, with same misspelling,

and bin, o, do not actually appear, but on the subsequent lines there is no room for them.) (the floral design above Muhammed is clipped on two; all fragmentary, d=15.5-18, 19-20.5, 21.5-27 mm., w=5.29, 6.51, 7.78 gr.).

4G. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Muqtafl.

Oby.

Muḥammad is the Messenger of Allah.

The Just Malik

مظفر بن محمد Muzaffar son of Muhammad

Rev. as no. 4A; correct spelling of .

Markov, Inventarny, p. 390, nos. 1-6; ANS (fragmentary; d=18.5-21.5 mm., w=5.54 gr.).

4H. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Muqtadi.

Obv. (in a linear circle)

[لا الد الا اللم] (There is no god but Allah.)

[محمد] رسو [ل الله] Muhammad] is the Meseng [er of Allah.]

The Just [Maliik.

~~

Muhammad.

226

Rev.

ANS (badly clipped, but clear that <u>sultan</u> and <u>al-mu^cazzam</u> are on separate lines; fragmentary, d=20.5-24.0 mm., w=9.37 gr.).

41. E. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Muqtaff.

Obv.

ال الا الله There is no god but Allah.

... Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah...

(sic) العادل العظفر the Just, al-Muzaffar (sic)

...Muhammad.

Rev. As no. 4D, with spelling error

B.N., M2009 (d= approx. 17-24.5 mm.) (cast in ANS); ANS, three examples, (all fragmentary, but the mistake al-Muzaffar clear on all; d=13.5-17.0, 16-18.5, 15-19, w=3.34, 4.14, 4.58 gr.).

4J. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Muqtaff.

Obv. Like no. 4A, but with the addition of a chain slanting to the left \(\lambda \lambda \lamb

alone ...

to Him. al-Muqtaf []

... السّلطان]

The Sulta[n]...

B.N. M2007 (fragmentary); cast in ANS); ANS (fragmentary, not clear if just is misspelled; d=14.5-18.5 mm., w=3.59 gr.).

4K. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Muqtafi.

Obv. Legend arranged like 4A(?), with the addition of a chain slanted left in between the third and fourth line.

Rev. Like 4A(?), fragmentary, but with error.

B.W., M2008 (d=approx. ll.16 mm.; cast in ANS); ANS (fragmentary, position of bin on obverse not certain; d=16-17, w=4.30 gr.).

4L. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Muqtafl.

Obv. Like no. 4A(?), fragmentary.

Rev. Like no. 4D(?), with error and with the addition of chain slanted left between the second and third line.

ANS, two examples (very small and very fragmentary; d=10-12, ll (sic, round but irregularly struck) mm., w=1.08, l.48 gr.).

Only the last two lines of obverse and thelast two lines of the reverse given, but without distribution.

Pakhomov, "O derbendskom," p. 3, type I (a general type rather than a specific coin).

5X. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Muqtafl and Seljuq sultan of Iraq Muhammad (b. Mahmud?) (5+8/1153-554/1159).

Obv.

<u>Rev</u>.

alone. No associate

مراكب المنتوى الراكب al-Muqtafī liamril...

The Tan (sic) Muḥamm [ad]

در (د) كا كا كا در (د)

Soret, RN, 1859, p. 483, no. 2 (two examples).

Soret is not at all sure whether the reading of the name should be Muhammad or Mahmud. He made no suggestion as to the maning of the strange last line. This reading may have to be rejected. As so often happens with these poorly struck coins, a floral design at the bottom looks like a word. In addition the writing is so badly executed that the letters do not look as one is accustomed to seeing them. The beginning of Muhammad/Mahmud might be a carelessly written al-mu^Cazzam. The "s" in al-Sultan is lacking probably due to a printing error.

6X. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-MuqtafI and Seljuq sultan of Iraq Muhammad (b. Mahmud ?).

Obv. (in a linear circle)

There is no god but Allah.

Muhammad...Allah

...zaffar

Rev. (in a linear circle)

الملكان المعتم Muhammad.

B.N., M2006 (the coin is as usual fragmentary) (cast in the ANS; d=approx. 21.5-29 mm.).

This issue seems to gainsay the remarks made under no. 5%. The reading is again questionable; however, assuming "Muhammad" was correctly read and that it belongs with the sultan al-mu azzam on the previous line, then it can only refer to Muhammad b. Mahmud (548/1153-554/1159). Thus it would be placed just prior to the next major series of Muzaffar b. Muhammad which is dated beginning in 555/1160. In 549/1154 Ibn al-Azraq accompanied the Georgian King Dimitri for a few days visit to the region of "Darband-1 Khezaran." In his account of the visit, Ibn al-Azraq mentions the following very interesting information; "And the malik of Darband AmIr Abul-Muzaffar came out to present his respects to the king of Abkhaz and carried to him servants (and things

necessary for) his sojourn and feasts, for he was the sonin-law (sihr) of the king of Abkhaz being married to the latter's daughter."²¹

Thus we find that King Dimitri was not only related to the Shirvanshah Minuchihr II who was married to his sister Thamar, 22 but also now to the Malik of Darband. Dimitri had apparently followed the policy of his father David the Restorer (1089/482-1125/519) in spreading the sphere of influence of the Georgian Kingdom. Furthermore, he married off another daughter, Cata, to Alexios, the son of the Emperor Nicephoros IV Bryennios. 23 Therefore, we see that during this period of the middle 6th/12th century, relations between Sharvan, Darband and Georgia though not always friendly were certainly close.

7X. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Muqtaff.

Coins of Muzaffar with caliph al-Muqtaff, but not
described sufficiently for further classification.

Pakhomov, Klady; IV, Hl099, a) (four examples);
Pakhomov, Klady, VII, Hl799, nos. 413-415 (3 examples);
Pakhomov, Klady, VIII, Hl988, nos. 1-5 ("irregular";
w=2.59, 2.85, 3.45, 3.97, 5.02 gr.); Oxford,
Ashmolean Museum, ex-Thorburn Collection (one example;
li-amr is spelled correctly).

8. AE. No mint name. 555/1160. With caliph al-Mustanjid (555/1160-566/1170).

²¹Ibn al-Azraq, <u>Ta'rikh Mavyafariqin</u>, MS, BM, Cr. 5803, f. 64a; <u>cf.</u>trans., Minorsky, <u>Sharvan</u>, p.170, also, <u>supra</u>, n.8.

²²See <u>supra</u>, "Chap.Three," discussion under no.14.

Passage tells of Thamar's wedding; cf. Hasan, Falaki, p.12.

Obv. (in a circle made by the joining of six tripetalled flowers)

المك The Malik Muzaffar مطغر son of Muhammad.

<u>Marginal segments</u>: (around a linear circle, within the areas formed by six petals, the first area starting at about 11 o'clock)

l. بغرب , struck

2. (sic) الدراهم , the diraham (sic)

و نو سنة , in the year

4. خمس **, five an**d

و نمسين و , fifty and

6. نسماية , five hundred.

Rev. (within the fields of three intersecting circles, the first at the top, the second at the lower left and the third at the lower right).

1. Yialiy There is no god but

Allah

2. Muhammad is the Messen--

ger of Allah.

3. al-Mustanjid

all billah.

Marginal segments: (counterclockwise along a linear circle, in three areas the first at the bottom)

Commander of امير

the Faith-

منين العالم

Bartholomaei à Soret, RNB, 1859, p.437.

Bartholomaei comments: "Le flan de cos mo

Bartholomaei comments: "Le flan de ces monnaies, toujours trop petit pour la grandeur des coins, ne permet pas de juger l'ensemble." 214

9. AE. No mint name. 557/1162. With caliph al-Mustanjid.

Marginal segments: (counterclockwise along a linear

1. فرب struck

Obv. Field as no. 8.

circle)

2. (sic) , the disaham (sic)

ر نی سنــة , in the year

4. , seven

وخسسن , and fifty

6. and five hundred

Rev. Field as no. 8.

Marginal segments: not indicated, probably clipped and presumably as no. 8.

Bartholomaei à Scret, RNB, 1859, p. 437, no. 90 (illus. Pl. XVI, fig. 25, but illustration shows a composite of the issue no. 8 for year 555/1160; cf., no. 8).

²⁴BNB, 1859, p.437; cf. supra, p.247.

²⁵<u>Ibić.</u>, p.438.

10X. AE. No mint name. 55X/1160-1164. With caliph al-Mustanjid. Plate II

Obverse and reverse the same as no. 8 with changes only to accomodate the different dates, if any.

Markov, <u>Inventarnyi</u>, p. 390, nc. 13, (5)5x/(11)6x; B.N., M2013, 55x/116x; ANS, three examples, very fragmentary, (5)5x/(11)6x, 5(5)x/11(6)x, and 55(X)116x (d=13.5-22,15-23,18-31 mm., w=2.76, 4.13, 7.06 gr.).

Though only the dates 555/1160 and 557/1162 have been recorded, Bartholomaei says, "J'ai rencentré des variétés de ce type pour les années 555 à 559 1160-1164 ."25

11X. AE. No mint name or date legible. With caliph al-Mustanjid.

Obv. Field and margins like no. 8, but area of date clipped.

Rev. (in three intersecting circles)

The same as no. 8 except that in circle no. 2 the field is arranged:

سعد رسو Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah.

Pakhomov, "Monetnye nakhodki 1924," p. 76 (two examples), cf., the same hoard Fakhorov, Klady, I, Elli (described);

^{25&}lt;sub>1b1d</sub>., p. 438.

gstrup, <u>Cat. Copenhagen</u>, pp. 133-134, nos. 1387 and 1388 (reading from photographs supplied by Anne Jacobsen); ANS (d=18-21 mm., w=3.44 gr.)

12X. AE. No mint name or date indicated. With caliph al-Mustanjid.

Coins of the above rosette type, but either too fragmentary or not further described for finer classification.

Soret, RN, 1859, p. 482, no. 1 (illus., obverse only by a line drawing, Pl. XXII, no. 1), cf., the same illustration copied in Valentine, EMC, Pl. 13, no. 5); Markov Inventarnyi, p. 390, nos. 9-12 (not described); Pakhomov, "O derbendskom," p. 3, type IV (a general and incomplete description rather than a reference to a particular coin); Østrup, Cat. Copenhagen, p. 134, no. 1389 (reference to Soret, RN, 1859, p. 476 ff.); Pakhomov, Klady, IV, H1098 (nine examples, "rosette"); Pakhomov, Elady, VII, H1799, see under nos. 416-445 (30 examples, with reference to his own "O derbendskom," p. 3, type IV); BM, two examples unpublished(?), one presentation by Soret, 1865; Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, ex-Thorburn Collection (part of the date may remain); B.N., M2011, M2012, M2014-2020 (nine examples in all; acquisitions of 1898) (unpublished) (all very fragmentary); ANS, four examples (two with the error, al-dirham, clear; d=18.5-22.5, 18-25, 18.5-21.5, 23-27 mm., w=3.72, 5.26, 5.32, 8.85 gr.).

The general type represented by nos. 8-12 is the most interesting and carefully struck of the Malik of Darband coinage.

²⁶Østrup was apparently ignorant of Pakhomov's article of 1930 (<u>supra</u>, nn₂ 6 and 13); he refers to the dynasty as "Princes de Karabag (Azerbeydjan)".

Though the sizes of these highly irregular coppers vary, many of them are very large, almost the size of the "token dirhams" struck in eastern Anatolia, northern Syria and by the Seljuqs of Iraq in al-Jibal.²⁷ It is quite remarkable that the word dirham, i.e., the misspelled form diraham, appears on the copper issues of this dynasty. Since so few of these coins are found outside the immediate territory of Darband, they seem not to have been minted for external commercial use; their irregular shape would seem to militate against that anyway. Perhaps these token dirhams were used to pay tribute²⁸ or some other fixed obligation of the state. It is notable that even this little city state with a local barter economy should feel the need to create some substitute for the long vanished dirham during the period of the silver crisis.²⁹

13A. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Mustanjid.

Obv. (in a linear circle)

all years Y There is no god but Allah

²⁷See supra, "Chap. Two," nn. 146-149, for a full discussion of these "token dirhams."

²⁸ If they were struck for tribute, only the Georgian Kingdom or the Shirvanshahs would have been in a position to force payment.

²⁹On this crisis or silver famine see <u>supra</u>, "Chap. Two," Section II D.

alone. He has no associate.

The Just Malik الملك العادل

Muzaffar son of Muhammad

Rev. (in a linear circle)

There is no god but Allah.

Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah.

al-Mustanjid billah.

The Supreme Sultan.

B.N., 2023 (cast in the ANS, approx. d=13.5-17.5 mm.); ANS, five examples (fragmentary; d=12-13, 12.5-16, 12-20, 17-19.5, 20-23 mm., w=2.72, 2.91, 3.90, 5.12, 7.76 gr.).

13B. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Mustanjid.

The same as no. 13A, but with the all of the second line of the obverse moved down to the beginning of the third line.

ANS (fragmentary; d=16.5-18.5 mm., w=4.58 gr.).

13C. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Mustanjid.

The same as 13A, but with Muzaffar on the fourth line of the obverse moved up to the end of the third line.

ANS (fragmentary; d=14-17 mm., w=2.58 gr.).

13D. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Mustanjid.

The same as no. 13C, i.e., with Muzaffar on the third line, but the obverse chain slants to the right,

ANS (fragmentary; d=15.5-21 mm., w=4.69 gr.).

It is very curious that neither Pakhomov nor other numismatists who have worked with these coins have called attention to this variety of Muzaffar b. Muhammad and with caliph al-Mustanjid, but without the rosette. This issue is probably to be dated from the period 559/1164-566/1170-71, that is from the last date we have recorded for the rosette type issue until the death of al-Mustanjid. It seems less likely that this issue and the rosette issue were minted simultaneously. Unfortunately we have no information on this period of Muzaffar's reign; he must have ended his reign sometime around 566/1170-1, since we have no coins with subsequent caliph al-Mustadi, nor any coins of his successor and son Bekbars with caliph al-Mustanjid.

14X. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Mustanjid.

Coins of Muzaffar b. Muhammad with caliph al
Mustanjid, but not further described.

Pakhomov, Klady, I, Hll5 (one example); Pakhomov, Klady, IV, Hl096 (d=8.4 mm., w=1.97 gr.); Hl099 (12 examples); Pakhomov, Klady, VIII, Hl987 (d=17-19 mm., t=0.6-1.0 mm., w=1.56 gr.), Hl988, nos. 6-20 (15 examples, not described).

15x. AE. No mint name or date.

Coins of Muzaffar but without an indication of caliph.

Pakhomov, <u>Klady</u>, IV, Hl097 (one example), Hl098 (one example), Hl099 (12 examples); Pakhomov, <u>Klady</u>, VII, Hl800, no. 4.

B. Bekbars b. Musaffar (circa 566/1170 to 575/1180-618/1221)

16A. No mint name or date. With caliph al-MustadI (566/1170-575/1180).

Obv.

There is no god but Allah.

Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah.

The Just Malik,

الملت العاد ا

Rev.

alone. No associعده لا شمر alone. No associعده المستضى ate has he. al-Mustadi
biamrillah.

Soret, RN, 1859, p. 484, no. 3 (casual reference to others in the Hermitage); B.N., M2021 (fragmentary, with last line of reverse clipped).

16B. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Mustadi.

The same as no. 16A, but with the incorrect

الله , li-aurillah, for

biamrillah, in the last line of the reverse.

Bartholomaei à Soret, RNB, 1859, pp. 438-439 (illus., Pl. XVI, fig. 26; the error is clear in the line drawing).

16C. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-MustadI.

Obv. (in four lines)

There is no god but Allah.

Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah.

The Just Malik Bekbars son of

Muzaffar.

Rev. Same as 16A, with correct spelling.

Markov, <u>Inventarny</u>, p. 391, no. 14; ANS (very fragment-ary; d=14.5-17.5 mm., w=4.82 gr.) (last line of the reverse is clipped).

16D. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-MustadI.

The same as 16A, but with initial alif of al-cadil
in the third line of the obverse missing.

ANS (fragmentary; d=19.5-22.5 mm., w=5.45 gr.). (The reverse field is surrounded by a linear circle.).

16X. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-MustadI.

Insufficiently described for further classification.

Pakhomov, "O derbendskom," p. 3, type V (the essentials of the legends are given, but not the distribution; a general description rather than a specific coin); Pakhomov, Klady, VII, H1799, nos. 446-451 (six examples) (reference to "O derbendskom," type V).

We can only date these coins broadly during the reign of the caliph al-Mustadi, that is in the decade from 566/1170 to 575/1180. The salient event of that period for the history of Darband, Shirvan and Georgia was the combined attack on Shirvan by the forces of Darband and the Russian brodniki. 30 The Georgian Chronicle speaks of the invasion of the "Khazars of Darband; "31 while in three odes of Khaqani, 32 we hear of the invaders as Rus and Khazars, Rus and Sarīr, 33 and Rus and Alān. 34 The facts surrounding this episode are not altogether

³⁰Bands of free-lance warriors who wandered through southern Russia.

³¹Brosset, Histoire de la Géorgie, I/1, p. 397; cf., Hasan, Falaki, where the whole passage is translated, p. 37; see also Minorsky, Sharvan, p. 141; and also Pakhomov, "O derbendskom," pp. 8 and 12, n. 26, where the reference to the Georgian text is given, p. 272. For the Khazars, see supra, "Chap. Two," n. 5.

³² Divan-i Khaqani-yi Shirvani, ed. Cali Cabd al-Rasuli, (Tehran, 1316/1898-9), p. 135, 476, 139 and 475 respectively, as cited by Minorsky, "Khaqani and Andronicus Comnenus," op. cit., p. 128. See also the text and translation of these odes based on the Kullivat-i Khaqani, (Lucknow, 1293/1878), pp. 481-484, 61-2, 392, as cited by Hasan, Falaki, pp. 37-39.

³³ The Sarfr made up the Avar principality in Daghestan, north of the Caucasus.

³⁴ The Alans, who were of Iranian origin, occupied a large area in the North Caucasus; their present day descendents are the Ossets.

and by sea, then allied themselves with the forces of Darband which included the Sarīr, the Alans, and the Khazars. By the Khazars is most probably meant the Kipchak Turks roaming around the southern steppes of Russia; the Khazars had already faded out and it is not likely that these were remnants of them. 35

It is Hasan's opinion that these Khazars (Kinchaks), "either on their own initiative or as allies of the Brodniki, occupied Derbend, and advancing twenty leagues south of the town, seized the citadel of Shābarān." However, Hasan wrote his study on Khāqānī before the publication of Pakhomov's article on the Maliks of Darband and he was not fully aware of an independent dynasty in al-Bāb at the time of the invasion. Pakhomov suggested that the invasion of Shirvan was initiated by the Malik of Darband Bekbārs b. Muzaffar; Minorsky seems to adopt this notion. 37

This according to Minorsky, "Khaqani...," p. 128. These Kipchaks were probably Polovtsi — Comans. For a discussion of the whole Khazar problem see the chapter, "End of the Khazar State," in D.M. Dunlop, The History of the Jewish Khazars (Princeton, 1954), pp. 237-263, and especially, pp. 256-258 for the events around the invasion on Shirvan. On the Kipchak Turks see, supra, "Introd., n. 17.

³⁶ Hasan, Falaki, p. 37.

^{37&}quot;0 derbendskom," p. 9; Minorsky, "Khāqanī," ibid.

Minuchihr, the Shirvanshah, but only with the help of Giorgi III, the King of Georgia, and Andronicus Commenus who was then a guest of Giorgi's. 38 The invasion of the Rus took place circa 569/1173-4;39 Hasan, probably reading too much into the sources, said that after the defeat of the Khazars (Kipchaks) and Russians, "Shabaran and Derbend were handed over to Akhastan." If Akhsatan did held Darband, it must have been for only a short time, for Bekbars minted coins, presumably at Darband, during the caliphate of al-Nasir, which began in 575/1180 (see infra). In conclusion it should be noted again that nowhere in Khaqani or the Georgian Chronicle is Eskbars name mentioned in connection with these events.

17A. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Nasir (575/1180-622/1225).

³⁸ Minorsky, Sharvan, p. 140; Hasan, Falaki, p. 37 ff.

³⁹See supra, "Chap. Three," n. 75. For a detailed analysis of this event and its date, besides the works of Hasan, Pakhomov and Minorsky already cited, see the following: B. Dorn, "Caspia," Mém. de l'Acad. de St. Pétersbourg, 1875, p. 240 ff., Khanykov, Mel. As., III (1853); K. Chaykin, Khaqani. Nizami. Rustaveli, fasc. I (Leningrad, 1935); Khanykov, "Lettre de M. Khanykov à M. Dorn, 8/20 May, 1857," Mélanges Asiatiques, III, pp. 120-121; Barthold, "Derbend," EI1; Minorsky, Hudud al-Calam, pp. 398-411; Dunlop, Jewish Khazars, pp. 256-259; and for a general discussion of the movements of the North Caucasian people during this period see, T. Halasi-Kun, "The Caucasus, An Ethno-Historical Survey," op.cit.

⁴⁰H. Hasan, Falaki, p. 37.

Obv.

There is no god but Allah.

Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah.

The Just Malik

الملت العاد ال

Rev.

Soret, RN, 1859, p. 484, no. 4 (two examples; one "très-tronqué") (I have been unable to verify the correct spelling of al-Nasir on any example); gstrup, Cat. Copenhagen. p. 134, no. 1391 (gstrup fails to give a reading of the reverse saying "légende illisible"; my reading made from a photograph supplied by the museum) (al-Nasir not visible); ANS, two examples (very fragmentary, al-Cadil clear on both, al-Nasir not visible; d=8-16, 14.5-17 mm., w=1.47, 2.45 gr.).

17B. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Nasir.

Obv. Like no. 16C.

There is no god but Allah.

Muḥammad is the Messenger of Allah.

The Just Malik Bekbars son of

Muzaffar.

Rev. (in a linear circle)

There is no god but Allah الله alone. No associعنا عنا عند الناصر ate has he. al-Māṣir
(sic) الدين الله (sic).

Markov, <u>Inventarnyi</u>, p. 391, nos. 15-20 (six examples; al-din is as indicated the proper spelling of al-cadil and al-Nasir are questionable); ANS (very fragmentary, but obverse arrangement seems to be like Markov's; al-Nasir might be spelled correctly, but the coin is too worn to be sure; neither al-din nor the first part of al-cadil are visible) (d=15.5-19 mm., w=3.11 gr.).

17C. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Nasir.

Plate II

Obv. Like 17A, but with clear error العادل 1- adil for al- adil .

Rev. (in a linear circle)

Like 17A, but with clear error linear l-Nasir

for lilear, al-Nasir.

B.N., M2025 and two others, unpublished (fragmentary, but errors quite visible; cast of M2025 in ANS); ANS, seven examples (all very fragmentary; d=12.5-19, 18.5-20.5, 13.5-17.5, 15.5-18, 16-18, 17.5-23.5, 17.5-21.5 mm., w=3.12, 3.42, 3.60, 3.92, 4.43, 5.94, 7.00 gr.).

17X. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Nasir.

Coins of Bekbars with caliph al-Masir but insufficiently described for further classification.

Pakhomov, "O Derbendskom," p. 3, type VI (a general type without complete legends or distribution; al-cadil and al-Nasir lidin are all correctly indicated); Pakhomov, Klddy, VII, H1799, nos. 452-470 (19 examples, no details); B.N., unpublished (probably like 17C, but al-cadil clipped); ANS, four examples (very irregular and very fragmentary; d=9-12, 11-15.5, 12-21.5, 18-21 mm., w=1.63, 1.83, 3.61, 7.23 gr.).

18. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Nasir.

Oby. (in a double linear border)

(sic) المالا لله There is no god but llah (sic)

(sic) محمد رسول له Muhammad is the Messenger of lah (sic).

(punched) الله رسو Allah Messeng (punched)

(sic) المك الماد The Just Malik

Bekbars son of

.Muzaffar مضفر

Rev. (double struck and slightly overlapping, each field in a double linear border)

There is no god but A no god but A no god but a no god but a lone. No alone. No as...

iate he has l-Na iate he has l-Na lidInillah.

Soret, RN, 1859, p. 484, no. 5 (illus. Pl. XXII, fig. 2, a line drawing), illustration reproduced in Valentine, EMC, Pl. 13, no. 26 (the coin is not fully described and my readings are taken from Soret's drawing; the coin is punched).

Concerning the third line of the obverse Soret says, "...au-dessous de la seconde ligne on em voit une nouvelle qui paraît être le résultat d'une double frappe et se composer des mots الملث le , empruntés aux troisième et seconde lignes." In his drawing instead of al-malik the word Allah, all . is clearly indicated. Soret also adds, "Cet exemplaire, unique dans ce module, doit avoir servi à représanter une monnaie d'une valeur double (i.e., our no. 17A]." Since these des précédentes irregularly struck coins seemed to have no value as unitary coins, but as bulk weight of stamped copper, Soret's conjecture is probably to be rejected. Unless othersof this type are found, the coin will remain an interesting curiosity.

19X. AE. No mint name or date.

Coins of Bekbars insufficiently described or too fragmentary for further classification.

østrup, Cat. Copenhagen, pp. 133-134, no. 1390 (too fragmentary); Pakhomov, Klady, IV, Hl098 (one example, not described), Hl099 (eight examples; not described); Pakhomov, Klady, VII, Hl799, nos. 471-483 (13 examples, not described); Pakhomov, Klady, VIII, Hl988 (two examples (too fragmentary; w=7.28, 11.42 gr.); ANS, two examples (too fragmentary; d=9-12.5, 14.5-22.5 mm., w=1.04, 6.19 gr.).

Lilsee E.A. Pakhomov, "Monetnoe obrashchenie Azerbaidzhana v XII i nachale XIII veka," <u>Numiz. sbornik, vvp. xxvi</u> (Moscow, 1957), p. 87. See also discussion of the entire question of monetary circulation and regularly and irregularly struck copper, <u>supra</u>, "Chap. Two," section II, E and F.

This completes the coins of Bekbars b. Muzaffar. The numismatic evidence is as sklent as the literary sources on the fate of Bekbars. When or how he died is not known. The ample quantity of coins struck in the name of al-Nasir would suggest a considerable time after 575/1180. A date in the late 580°s/l190°s would seem likely. As we shall see the same problem will be encountered in estimating the duration of the rule of his son and successor, CAbd-al-Malik.

- C. Cabd-al-Malik b. Bekbars b. Muzaffar (sometime during 575/1180-618/1221)
- 20A. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Nasir.

عبد ^CAbd-نبلك بن **al-Malik** son of بكبارس Bekb**ārs**.

Rev.

There is no god but Allāh وحده لا شسر alone. No associate has He. al-Nāṣir الناصر lidInillāh.

Soret, RN., 1859, p. 485, no. 6 (illus. Pl. XXII, fig. no. 3, a line drawing of obverse only (see the same drawing reproduced in Valentine, EMC, Pl. 13, no. 27) (Soret indicates, "Sous ce nom il y a encore quelques traces de lettres indéchiffrables."); B.N., M2022, unpublished (clipped, top line of reverse missing; cast in ANS; d=approx. 18-21 mm.).

20B. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Nasir.

Obv. (in two lines)

-Abd عيد

al-Malik son of Bekbars.

Margin: circular

لا المالاالله There is no god but Allah.

Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah.

Rev. Like 20A, but with correct spelling of al-Nasir indicated.

Markov, <u>Inventarnyi</u>, p. 391, nos. 21-24 (four examples; the two line reading of the obervse is questionable as is the spelling of al-Nasir).

20X. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Nasir.

Obv. (distribution not indicated)

عبد الملك بن بكبارس Abd-al-Malik son of Bekbars.

Rev. (only partially indicated)

al-Nasir lidInillah. الناصر لدين الله

Pakhomov, "O Derbendskom," p. 3, type VII (a general type which is most probably like our no. 20A).

21. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Nasir.

Obv. (in a linear circle inscribed within a sixpetalled rosette) -Abd عبد

al-Malik son of

Bekbars. بكبارس

Margin: the formula of faith.

Rev. (in a linear circle, enveloped with dots)

الدالا الله There is no god but Allah

alone.

No associ-

ate has he.

al-Nāsir الناصر

lidInillah. لدين الله

Pakhomov, <u>Klady</u>, VII, Hl799, no. 484 ("This example was subjected to a double strike of the die on both sides, and the legend is somewhat shifted.") (d=27.0-28.5 mm., t=1.0-1.5 mm., w=6.52 gr.), nos. 485-488 (four more examples, but much smaller, d=approx. 21 mm., with the diameter of the field about 16-17 mm.; only parts of the legend and rosette are visible).

22X. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Nasir.

Obv. (distribution not indicated)

مبد الملك بن بكبارس بن Abd-al-Malik son of Bekbars son of Muzaffar.

Rev. (only part of legend indicated)

al-Nasir lidinillah. الناصر لدين الله

Pakhomov, "O Derbendskom," p. 3, type VIII (a general description rather than a particular coin; I would imagine the obverse to be in four lines).

23X. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Nasir.

Coins with insufficient description for further classification.

Pakhomov, <u>Klady</u>, VIII, H1988, no. 23 (cut from a bar 17.5-19.5 in width, d=(of the die?) approx. 25 mm., t=2.5-3.0 mm.).

We are completely at a loss to suggest the years of CAbd-al-Malik's reign, beside saying it was sometime during the caliphate of al-Nāṣir (575/1180-622/1225). The literary sources are absolutely without reference to this ruler. Since his father Bekbārs struck so many coins during the same caliph's reign, one might guess that CAbd-al-Malik began his rule not earlier than the late 580's/early 1190's. We are sure that his rule ended before 618/1221, the year of the first Mongol incursion into the Caucasus, when the ruler of Darband is "Rashīd Shirvānshāh malik Darband Shirvān." When Darband came under the suzerainty of the Shirvānshāhs is not known, but certainly some little time before 618/1221.43

The scarcity of coins of CAbd-al-Malik b. Bekbars would seem to indicate a very short rule; perhaps the dynasty of the independent Maliks of Darband ended at the

⁴² Ibn al-AthTr, XII, pp. 167-169; see <u>supra</u>, "Chap. Three," n. 128.

⁴³ See supra, discussion in text after n. 17.

Pakhomov, our no. 21, is most interesting. It is the only known Darband issue having a rosette design around the border. This motif is very characteristic of the Shirvanshah issues of the late 6th/12th century; perhaps already in CAbd-al-Malik's time Darband had come under Shirvan control. It certainly would seem to indicate that Shirvan die cutters were used for that issue. Except these meagre facts, we simply have no idea of the events in al-Bab during the last years of this dynasty. We must hope that some forgotten manuscript or some new coin will help shed light on the rule of CAbd-al-Malik and the arrival of RashId Shirvanshah.

24X. AE. No mint name or date.

Coins of the Maliks of Darband but without indication of ruler or caliph.

Pakhomov, "Monetnye nakhodki 1924," III (two examples, cf., to the same hoard, Pakhomov, Klady, I, H111), H113 (one example); Pakhomov, Klady, IV, H1098 (19 examples, worn), H1099 (18 examples, no names visible), H1131 (two examples); Pakhomov, Klady, VII, H1804 (two examples); Pakhomov, Klady, VIII, H1988, nos. 24-48 (25 examples, names missing).

b. Afridun and Garshasp b. Farrukhzad, nos. 24-28.

III. CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

Though it was originally through numismatic investigations that this dynasty was made known to Islamic history, the information obtained directly from their coinage is slight. Bekbars and cabd-al-Malik are unknown in the literary sources, but their coins give us little else beside their names. There is only one dated issue, that of Muzaffar from the years 555/1160-559/1164. This same issue is the most elaborate of the coins of the dynasty; it is of a generally large size with al-diraham in the obverse margin. Because of their extremely irregular shape and poor striking, these coins, reminiscent of the token dirhams of southeastern Anatolia, were perhaps struck for the payment of tribute, rather than for commercial trade transactions.

The hoard finds indicate that very few of these coins circulated outside the immediate area of al-Bab. They fit well into the general pattern of "irregularly" struck copper coins in eastern Caucasia during the 6th/12th century which reflects a self-sufficient area with a local barter economy. One of the last issues of the dynasty struck under Cabd-al-Malik, displays a rosette design around the

obverse field similar to that employed by the Shirvanshahs. Furthermore, though it is not apparent in the corpus, the color and texture of the late issues of Bekbars and Abd-alm Malik are similar to those of the Shirvanshahs, that is dark brown, almost black, with a smooth, oily surface like bronze. The two factors may indicate that Darband had already fallen under the control of the Shirvanshahs even while their own Maliks were ruling.

We are not certain when the dynasty came to an end, but most certainly by 618/1221 when the ruler is referred to as Shirvanshah. The facts surrounding the beginning of the dynasty in the early 6th/12th century are also in doubt. The numismatic data have been of no help in these problems. The area and the dynasty were too far removed from the main centers of Islam to receive more adequate attention from travelers and historians of the age. Even the Arabic employed on the coins, so full of misspellings and misunderstandings, demonstrates the remoteness of al-Bab. Yet the caliph in Baghdad was consistently and dutifully mentioned on all the coins of the dynasty, even though after 566/1170 reference to the Seljuq sultan of Iraq is completely dropped. This

⁴⁵ Supra, n. 44.

was to lose his life. This is in sharp distinction to their southern neighbors the Shirvanshahs who continued to mention the sultan's name to the very end. The Seljuqs and their Ildegizid atabegs were seemingly helpless in enforcing their authority even by pressure in this distant area. The mention of the caliph can be explained on purely religious grounds. Darband in this period was probably as much in the Georgian orbit as in the Islamic polity of southeastern Caucasia and Adharbayjan. Muzaffar himself was married to a Georgian princess and perhaps his successors followed his example.

A final word must be said about Bekbars and his Turkic name. The name means Tiger (bars) Prince, and stands out sharply against the usual Arabic names of the dynasty. Minorsky comments that it "reflects the usual Turkicisation of the names under the influence of the over-hords." One is not sure what he meant. Who were these Turkic overlords? Surely not the Christian Georgians, nor the iranized Shirvanshahs, nor even the Ildegizids, who had no authority in this extreme northern area. Rather the Turks responsible for this sort of Turkification were probably the Kipchaks who had entered Caucasia from the north

⁴⁶ Sharvan, p. 140.

in large numbers during the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries as attested by the <u>Ta'rIkh al-Bāb</u>, the <u>Georgian Chronicle</u>, Ibn al-AthIr and other sources. It was from these same Kipchaks, in southern Russia and along the northern shores of the Black Sea, that the Egyptian Mamlük dynasty was descended. Among them the name Beybars is quite common.

THE MALIKS OF DARBAND: GENEALOGY

The Hashimid Amirs of al-Bab (starting with Hashimid b. Suraqa al-Sulami 255/869circa 470/1073)

Khalifa al-Sulami

Muhammad (circa 514 ?)

- A. MUZAFFAR = daughter of King Dimitri of Georgia (circa 530/1136 to circa 559/1164-566/1170)
- B. BEKBARS (circa 566/1170 to 575/1180-618/1221)
- C. CABD-AL-MALIK (sometime during 575/1180-618/1221)

(?)

(3)

RashId (Malik Darband Shirvan) (circa 618/1221)

(?)

Jalal al-Dīn Sultanshah b. Shirvanshah (circa 622/1225)

For the genealogy and dates of the Hashimid Amirs see the Ta'rikh al-Bab, ed. Minorsky, Sharvan, op.cit., pp. 41-55, and Zam baur, Manuel, op.cit., No. 172, pp. 185-186.

The Maliks whose names are written with capital letters struck coins; the appropriate section in the corpus is indicated by a letter preceding their names.

On Rashid and Jalal al-Din see <u>supra</u>, "Chapter Three," Sections II, L and M respectively and the discussion after n.17 in the introduction to this corpus.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE ILDEGIZID CORPUS

I. INTRODUCTION

of the dynasties treated in this study, the Ildegizids are the best known and most discussed by the sources. This is the result of their association with and eventual control over the Seljuq sultanate of Iraq. Shams al-DIn Ildegiz was a Kipchak Turkic slave of Kamāl al-DIn Abū Tālib Sumayramī, the vizir of sultan Mahmūd b. Muhammad b. Malikshāh. After Sumayramī's death in 515-6/1121-2 he entered sultan Mahmūd's service and finally that of sultan Mascūd b. Muhammad (527/1135-547/1152). The latter appointed Ildegiz governor of Arrān probably around 530/1136; from there Ildegiz gradually extended his power and independence until he controlled most of Adharbayjān and eventually al-Jibāl.

¹⁰n this sultanate see supra, "Chap. Two," n. 52 and the text there.

The Arabic sources use Ildegiz, the Persian Eldegiz and the Armenian Eltguz. Modern Turkish historians insist on the form II-Deniz; A.Z.V. Togan, Islam-turk ansiklopedisi (Istanbul, 1940), I, p. 715; M. Bala, "Il-Deniz," IA. V. Minorsky in rejecting this form says, "The reading El-deniz...is obviously modernizing and impossible;" Studies, p. 92, n. 2. See also RHC, Historiens Orientaux, I, p. 831, on the name.

³ Ibn al-Athir (IX, 119) in his obituary of Ildegiz

Shams al-Dīn further extended his influence in the area by marrying the widow of Tughril b. Muhammad (526/1132) and becoming the step-father of the sultan's son Arslanshah. During the next two decades he strengthened his position in Arran and Adharbayjan at the expense of other local amīrs such as the Ahmadīlī. His large and strong army based in these provinces was soon to play the major role in reinforcing and preserving the Seljuq sultanate of Iraq. 5

Shortly after Muhammad b. Mahmud (548/1153-554/1159) became sultan, Ildegiz obtained the actual custody of his step-son and thereby became the prince's de facto atabeg. 6 When Shams al-Dīn's ambitions became clear a state of continuous hostility began between him and his Seljuq overlord,

under 568/1172 (actually he died three years later, see superaction. 77, and discussion infra) gives us most of this information. See also Lane-Poole, Mohammadan Dynasties, p. 171; H. Edhem, Islamic Dynasties (Turkish ed. of Lane-Poole), op.cit., pp. 208-216; W. Barthold, "Ildegiz," Ill:Blight: Barthold, "Ildegiz," Blight: Barthold, "Ildegiz," <a href="mailto:Blight: Barthold, "Ildegiz," Blight: Barthold, "Ildegiz," <a href="mailto:Blight: Blight: Barthold, "Ildegiz," <a href="mailto:Blight: Blight: Blight: Barthold, "Ildegiz," <a href="mailto:Blight: Blight: Blig

[&]quot;On this dynasty see <u>supra</u>, "Introd.," n. 14. Their relations with the Ildegizids are discussed in Minorsky, "Ahmadilis," RI₂, and C.J.F. Dowsett, "Albanian Chronicie," op.cit., pp. 487-490.

This army schooled in the best ghazi (q.v., supra, "Chap. Two," n. 79) tradition, numbered as many as 50,000, during its best days; Luther, p. 139. In general Luther's study is the best work on the Ildegizids up to 587/1191; it has been used as a check against the sources for that period.

BundarI, Zubdat al-Nusrah, ed. T. Houtsma, op.cit., p. 239. Luther maintains that the use of the title atabeg by

sultan Muhammad. During this period and for the rest of the 6th/l2th century the Cabbasid caliph and the Ildegizids were allies against the Seljuqs. The enmity between the caliphate and the sultanate originated from the violent deaths of caliphs al-Mustarshid (529/1135) and al-Rāshid (530/1136), the blame for which was placed on sultan MaCsūd. 7

After the death of sultan Muhammad, Ildegiz was a member of the coalition of amirs which supported Sulaymanshah b. Muhammad who served as sultan for a few months in 555/1160.8 These same amirs later dissatisfied with Sulaymanshah invited Arslanshah, the ward of Ildegiz, to come to Hamadan and assume the power of the sultanate.9 With the help of Shams al-Din's

Ildegiz before 549/1154 is a result of Nishapuri and following him RawandI (q.v., supra, Chap. One," no. 14-16 and text there) reading back the title into the days when Ildegiz did not yet possess it, "a natural gesture of a court historian living and writing in the shadow of the Eldegizids;" op.cit., p. 138. The numismatic evidence corroborates this assumption; the first verifiable use of the title atabeg by Shams al-Din is on a coin probably to be dated from 549/1154; see infra, coin no. 2.

⁷Bundari, pp. 176-178.

Rawandi, Rahat al-sudur, ed. M. Iqbal, op.cit., p. 275. For a complete discussion of this question see supra, "Chap. Three," under coin no. 13.

^{9&}lt;u>Akhbār al-dawlat al-saljūgiyva</u>, ed. M. Iqbal, <u>op.</u> cit., pp. 144-145; Rawandi, p. 279; Ibn al-Athir, IX, p.

military strength, the danger of the sultanate breaking up among warring factions was averted. In his new role as atabeg and step-father, Ildegiz kept the military power in his hands, but was careful to maintain the new sultan's position as the symbol of unity and the formal source of authority. Thus began the dual system of sovereignty, characterized as the dyarchy, 10 which was to give the sultanate renewed viability for the next three decades, preventing both the Georgians in the northwest and the Khwarazmshahs in the northeast from seizing the provinces of Arran, Adharbayjan and al-Jibal.

After the deaths of Ildegiz and sultan Arslanshah in 571/1175, their sons Muhammad Pahlavan and Tughril preserved the dynasty as atabeg and sultan respectively. However, Pahlavan, afraid of the constant possibility of revolt by the amirs of al-Jibal, initiated certain changes in the system of rule which eventually caused the weakening of the

¹⁰ See supra, "Chap. One," n. 134.

For Ildegiz, by careful and correct deduction from Rawandi, pp. 300-301, Luther arrived at the date Rabi II/October-November, 571/1175; ibid., pp. 201-202. However, a very short anonymous Armenian chronicle, presumably written in the following year, 572/1176, gives 571/1175 as the correct date of the atabeg's death; V.A. Hakobyan, Minor Chronicles, op.cit., II, p. 502, see supra, "Chap. One," n. 77. M. Camcean, History, op.cit., III, p. 147, confirms the month and date. Arslanshah died two months later; Luther, ibid.

central authority of the state. He left his brother Qizi Arslan in control of Arran and Adharbayjan¹² and, desiring to insure that each of his four sons equally shared the resources of the sultanate, he assigned control of its territory among them. Abu Bakr, who was to receive Arran and Adharbayjan, was entrusted to the care of his uncle Qizi. Uzbek was given Hamadan and Pahlavan's other sons by Inanj Khatun, Qutlugh Inanj Mahmud and Amīr Amīran Cumar, were given Rayy, Ispahān and the rest of al-Jibāl. 13

After Muhammad Pahlavan's death in 583/1187, sultan Tughril, having come of age, wished to free the sultanate from Ildegizid control and, therefore, refused to cooperate with the new atabeg, Qizl Arslan. The latter proclaimed Sanjar b. Sulaymanshah sultan in 584/1188¹⁴ and two years later imprisoned Tughril. In the same year or the beginning of 587/1191 Qizl married Inanj Khatun, the widow of his brother, declared the end of the Seljuq dynasty, and at the same time proclaimed himself sultan. 15 It is reasonable

¹² Apparently Qizl was assigned all the northwestern areas and Pahlavan the southeastern; this is explicitly confirmed by the Armenian historian Vardan, History, op.cit., ed. Venice, pp. 130-131.

¹³ Rawandi, p. 336; Akhbar, pp. 172-173.

¹⁴ Rawandī, p. 363.

¹⁵ Ibid., Qirl was probably prompted and supported by the caliph al-Nasir; Luther, p. 252.

to assume he struck coins to commemorate such an august occasion, but unfortunately we have no such evidence. His sultanate was short-lived, for in Shawwal/October-November, 587/1191 he was murdered by his new bride. 16 Tughril was released from prison and for the next four years battled continually with Qutlugh Inanj b. Pahlavan for the control of al-Jibal. Qutlugh allied himself with the Khwarazmshah, who had already taken advantage of the disorder in the Seljuq state by occupying Rayy. In 590/1194 Tughril, foolishly, but bravely, engaged his superior adversaries in battle; he was killed 29 Rablel/24 April. 17

The Seljuq sultanate in the east had come to an end. The Khwarazmians eventually withdrew to Khorasan and al-Jibal was left in the hands of its feuding amirs. During these same years Abū Bakr b. Pahlavan strengthened his control on Arran and Adharbayjan; Maragha and the Ahmadīlī lands were acquired by 605/1208. When he died in 607/1210-1,

Rawandi, p. 343; Akhbar, p. 181. She in turn was married by sultan Tughail, who fearing the same fate as gizl, took the preventative action of murdering her. For details see T. Houtsma, "Some Remarks on the History of the Seljuks," op.cit., pp. 142-143, 151.

¹⁷ Juwaini, trans. J.A. Boyle, op.cit., I, p. 303; Houtsma mistakenly indicates 25 March; ibid., p. 151.

¹⁸ Minorsky, "Maragha," EI1, citing Ibn al-Athir, XII, XII, p. 157, 182.

his brother *Uzbek was heir to a much reduced Ildegizid state in Adharbayjan with Ardabil as capital. The dynasty feebly continued as a regional power until *Uzbek was killed by Jalal al-Din Khwarazmshah in 622/1225.19 The Ildegizid atabegate was destroyed, even though a son. Khamush. 20 survived. The latter may have been appointed to a token position by the Khwarazmshah, but we have neither coins nor testimony in the sources which would indicate that the Ildegiz state was operative. Juwaini has a short account about Nusrat al-Din b. Khamush which indicates that either he or his father sought refuge in the west, probably with the Seljuqs of Rum. "He (Qadaq Noyan, a Mongol general) also procured a firman with al-tamgha appointing as the commander of the tumen in Tabriz and Azerbaijan the atabeg Nusrat-ad-Din, son of the atabeg Khamush, who had come out of Rum and after remaining in hiding had shown his face again as an opponent of the malik Sadr-ad-Din."21 This was in the year 641/1243-4; beyond this we know nothing about the Ildegizids.

Juwaini, II, pp. 425-426; the narrative claims a non-violent death: "An internal pain, which was irremediable, was aggravated by this external cause, and on that very day, out of grief and chagrin, he delivered up the ghost." Boyle's trans., II, p. 426.

Meaning "silent" in Persian; he was a deaf mute.

H. Edhem, Islamic Dynasties, op.cit., I, p. 248 and index, has
Jamus, "buffalo", which should be corrected.

²¹ Juwaini, II, p. 511, brackets not in original, Minorsky adds that Khamush later joined the Assassins; "Ahmadilis," EI, citing Nasawi, pp. 129-130.

Throughout their history these atabegs were involved in a continual struggle with Christian Georgia for the control of Armenia, Arran and Shirvan. The population of these areas was forced to maintain a guarded neutrality towards the opposing forces. The Armenians often expressed benevolent feelings toward the atabegs. 22 It was only at the end of the 6th/12th and the early 7th/13th century, when the Ildegizid state had lost its control of al-Jibal and much of its vitality, that the Georgians were able to exert their power south of the Kur and even make raids south of the Araxes.

The coinage reflects this situation. A regular copper coinage was struck for dealings in Adharbayjan, Arran and the Armenian commercial cities such as Dvin, and an irregular, for use along the Kur and in Shirvan and Muqan. 23 Furthermore a large number of the former omit mention of the caliph and the Seljuq sultan presumably as a concession to the local Christian population in places where these varieties circulated, e.g., at Dvin. Their rivals the Georgians employed a similar policy by the consistent use of both Arabic and Georgian legends on their coins throughout the 6th/l2th century. 24

The only firmly attested mint is Ardabīl. 25 Dated

For a full discussion, supra, "Introd.," n. 24 and "Chap. One," n. 73.

²³ See supra, "chap. Two," Section II, E, especially nn. 152, 155, 158.

²⁴ In addition to the references in the previous note see, supra, "Chap. Two," n. 120.

²⁵See the discussion, <u>supra</u>, pp. 121-123.

issues are found for all members of the dynasty except Shams al-DIn, but because of the comparative richness of the literary sources even those which are undated can be more easily assigned an approximate period of minting than the coins of the Shirvanshahs or Maliks of Darband. Of particular interest are the three unique gold pieces in the collection of the American Numismatic Society. They were struck at the turn of the 6th/12th-7th/13th century by Abū Bakr and perhaps 'Uzbek and though they are very base, they reflect the Ildegizid desire to assume the authority and glory of their recently departed Seljuq overlords. But the meagre quantity and poor quality of 'Uzbek's coinage clearly reflects to what extent the power of the dynasty declined during the last fifteen years of its existence.

The corpus will be followed by some observations and a genealogical table.

II. THE CORPUS

A. Shams al-DIn Ildegiz (circa 530/1136-571/1175)

1.(?)AE. No mint name or date. With Great Seljuq Sultan Sanjar (511/1117-552/1157) and Seljuq Sultan of Iraq Mas Cud (527/1133-547/1152).

Obv. (in a linear circle)

السلطان The Sultan
The Greatest
Sanjar

To the left: a dagger

Rev. (in a linear circle)

"obscure"

"obscure"

The Supreme العظم Mas^Cud.

Pakhomov, Klady, IV, Hllol, pp. 37-38 (d= 26-29 mm., t=2.0-2.5 mm.) (now in the regional museum of Stepanakert, Azerbayjan, S.S.R.).

Since neither the name Ildegiz nor an appropriate title such as atabak is overtly legible, we must conjecture that Pakhomov's attribution is based on the tamgha 26 to the left of the obverse which he described as a kinzhal, a dagger. However, as will be seen below the usual form of the Ildegizid tamgha 27 is a three-pronged spear. Inclusion

²⁶ See supra, "Chap. Two," Section II, F.

²⁷ But see, supra, loc. cit., n. 166.

here will have to be tentative until closer examination or another specimen produces more conclusive evidence. If Pakhomov is correct, this is the only issue of Ildegiz which can be definitely dated prior to 548/1153 because of the dates Mas cud reigned. This coincides with Ibn al-AthIr's information that when Mas cud became sultan he appointed Ildegiz governor of Arran, probably after 530/1136.28

 AE. No mint name or date. With Great Seljuq Sultan Sanjar.

Obv.

السك Atabak

the Greatest

ابلدكر Ildegiz.

Rev.

sultan سلطان

Sanjar son of

Mushegian, <u>Denezhnoe</u>, nos. 126 (d=25 mm., w=4.9 gr.), 127 (d=29 mm., w=4.8 gr.), 145 (d=26 mm., w=6.4 gr.).

From rubbings supplied by Mushegian the readings have been completely verified. The issue is not only interesting

²⁸ Al-Kāmil, IX, p. 119; see supra, n. 3.

for the mention of Sanjar b. Malikshah, but because of Ildegiz's title atabak al-a sam. In the first half of the 6th/12th century the title atabak was still only awarded to actual guardians of Seljuq princes. 29 Ildegiz married the widow of sultan Tughril b. Muhammad sometime after the latter's death in 528/1136 or 529/1137. 30 Since Ildegiz became the step-father of her son Arslanshah b. Tughril, he may have assumed, or been given, the title of atabak. However, even if this assumption should be correct, a second problem arises namely, the title atabak al-a sam, the Greatest Atabeg, which was not officially awarded to Ildegiz until the accession of Arslanshah to the sultanate in 555/-1160.31

The issue should be dated prior to 552/1157, the year of Sanjar's death, and probably after 548/1153, when Muhammad b. Mahmud succeeded Mas cud as sultan of Iraq. The omission of Muhammad's name is reasonable and perhaps expected for he and Ildegiz were enemies, 32 Specifically, this could be an issue of 549/1154 when Ildegiz became de facto atabeg by

²⁹ See supra, "Chap. Two," n. 61 and text there.

³⁰ The date is disputed; cf., for the date from the various sources, G.C. Miles, Rayy, p. 214. See also supra, Introduction.

³¹Al-Bundari, p. 297; Akhbar, p. 145. See also supra, n. 6.

³² See discussion, supra, at n. 7.

obtaining actual custody of Arslanshah.33

3.(?)AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Muqtafi (530/1136-555/1160) and Great Seljuq sultan Sanjar.

Pakhomov, <u>Klady</u>, IV, Hlll4, no. 6, p. 41 (not described except for "Ildegizid, probably - Ildegiz...").

The attribution is questionable because of Pakhomov's doubtful reading of a seemingly poor unique specimen. As with the previous coin the name of Sultan Sanjar would make this an issue of 552/1157 or before and more accurately between 549/1154-551/1156 because of the close cooperation of al-Muqtafl and Ildegiz against sultan Muhammad. 34

4. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Muqtafl and Seljuq sultan of Iraq Muhammad (548/1153-554/1159).

Obv. (in a linear circle)

The Supreme Sultan السلطان المعظم Muhammad. Malik معمد ملك of the amīrs Ildegiz.

) 1

Rev. (in a linear circle)

^{33 &}lt;u>supra</u>, n. 6.

³⁴ Supra, at n. 7; Luther, pp. 71-72, has an interesting discussion of the power politics played by the caliph against the sultan.

المتنى Al-Muqtafī امرالله biamrillāh.

The Greatest Sultan.

østrup, Cat. Copenhagen, no. 1541, p. 162 (incorrectly read)(d=approx. 26 mm., w=8.26 gr.).

I have made the reading from a photograph supplied by Anne Jacobsen, Assistant Keeper of coins of the National Museum in Copenhagen; the weight was also supplied by her.

This coin is almost certainly an issue of late 551/1156 or early 552/1157. In mid-551/1156 a scheme by caliph al-Muqtafl to replace sultan Muhammad b. Mahmud with his uncle, Sulaymanshah b. Muhammad, brought together an army under the leadership of Ildegiz, Malikshah b. Mahmud (the sultan's brother) and Sulaymanshah against the forces of Muhammad. The battle was fought on the banks of the Araxes River near Naxijawan and resulted in a clear victory for Muhammad. After his defeat Ildegiz sought pardon from the sultan and received it on condition that he would send his oldest son, Muhammad Pahlavan, to the sultan's court. 35
Thus, the coin should be dated after Muhammad's victory of 551/1156 and before the death of sultan Sanjar in Rable
I/April-May, 552/1157, because the Great Sultan's name does

^{35&}lt;u>Akhbār</u>, p. 141; Rāwandī, p. 266; Ibn al-Athīr, IX, p. 49.

not appear along with his title, <u>sultan al-a^czam</u>; the Greatest Sultan," on the reverse, and also because upon Sanjar's death Muhammad appropriated the hegemony of the entire Seljuq dynasty and its title, which he substituted for that of the cadet branch of the Seljuqs of Iraq, <u>al-sultan al-mu^cazzam</u>,"the Supreme Sultan."³⁶

The coin is only partially described as bearing the names Ildegiz, al-Muqtafl and a sultan whose name is worn off. There is also a laudatory expression

[subhān Allāhi], "glorification of God."

Pakhomov, <u>Klady</u>, VII, H1799, nos. 1-2, p. 46 (described as large coins; av. d=29-32 mm., av. t=2.5-3.0 mm.) (now in the regional museum, Derband, Dagestan, U.S.S.R.)

These coins are very interesting because of the first and, I believe, only appearance of the laudatory expression subhan Allahi in Islamic coinage. The reading seems to be firmly attested on these two and the six specimens described below. The issue should be assigned to 555/ll60, the year of al-Mugtari's death, or a little before, because in the same

³⁶See G.C. Miles, "Coins of Rayy," MS in the American Numismatic Society, pp. 48-50.

hoard are coins with the name of his successor, caliph al-Mustanjid, of similar weight and fabric.

6. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Mustanjid (555/1160-566/1178).

This issue is only partially described as bearing the names Ildegiz, al-Mustanjid and the name of a sultan which is effaced, but probably Arslanshah. These coins are from the same hoard as those of no. 5 and have the same size and fabric along with the unusual laudatory subhan Allahi.

Pakhomov, Klady, VII, H1799, nos. 3-4 ("large coins"; av. d=29-32 mm., av. t=2.5-3.0 mm.) (four more coins, nos. 5-8, with the same fabric and size, but only the laudatory subhan Allahi is legible).

After sultan Muhammad b. Mahmud's death, Sulaymanshah b. Muhammad b. Malikshah reigned for a few months; ³⁷ in 555/1160 the principle amīrs, disenchanted with Sulaymanshah, appointed Ildegiz's son-in-law, Arslanshah b. Tughril, sultan. ³⁸ It was the culmination of Ildegiz's efforts to become the power behind the Seljuq throne and began the dyarchy. ³⁹ Shams al-Dīn

³⁷ See discussion in Shirvanshah Corpus, supra, "Chap. Three," following coin no. 13; see also n. 8 above.

³⁸ See <u>supra</u>, n. 9.

³⁹ See supra, "Chap. One," n. 134 and the discussion above at n. 10.

was given the official title of the Greatest Atabeg in the same year. 40

7. EA. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Mustanjid and Seljuq sultan Arslanshah (555/1160-571/1175).

Obv.

السلطان The Sultan

[العظم ارســــلان] the Greatest Ars[lan].

[العظم ارســــلان] Malik of the amīrs, Atā[bak]

Rev.

al-Mustanjid الستنجد billah. [Comm]ander المؤنين of the Faithful.

Bartholomaei à Soret, RNB, 1861, no. 22, pp. 47-48 (my completed reading based on this specimen); Pakhomov, Klady, VI, H1611 (single example, poorly struck - "Ganja" type); Fakhomov, Klady, VII, H1799, no. 9 ("al-Mustanjid," d=22.0-23.0, t=approx. 1.0 mm., w=3.47 gr.); Pakhomov, Klady, VII, H1801, B) no. 166 (caliph's named worn off, "Ganja" type), G) no. 53 (al-Mustanjid, "Ganja" type).

If Bartholomaei's assumption is correct that the last three letters of the third line of the obverse are to be read

⁴⁰ See <u>supra</u>, n. 31.

as the beginning of the word علاء atabak, then
the completion of the legend is fine. However, it would
appear by analogy with no. 4 above that line three is more
correctly علد الأسراء المدكر , the Malik of the
amīrs, and that line four carried the characteristic trident,
the Ildegizid tamghā. The same may also be true of the fourth
line of the reverse, a tamghā instead of a word. Pakhomov's
coins may deserve a separate category, but I believe they
belong here. He calls them the "Ganja" type because they
are found exclusively in hoards around that city.

Chronologically, I have kept the al-Mustanjid issues together for two reasons; first, the similarity between "large coin" types with al-Muqtafl's name, and, secondly, the striking silence of the literary sources about relations between Baghdad and the Seljuqs of Iraq during the eleven years of al-Mustanjid's caliphate, 555/1160-566/1170. The next two issues described below, which represent by far the greatest number of the coins of Shams al-DIn Ildegiz that have come to light, are completely devoid of any mention of the caliph's name or title.

8. AE. No mint name or date. With Sultan Arslanshah.

Obv. (in a linear circle)

ارسلان Sultān ارسلان Arslān.

Atābak Ildegiz.

Rev. (in a linear circle)

الله معد There is no god but

Allah. Muhammad

is the Messenger of Allah.

Bartholomaei à Soret, RNB, 1862, nos. 53-54, pp. 52-54 (only the second example has a tamgha) (part of a fourth line on the obverse is indicated "... ..., fils(?) (de Soleiman)"; Markov, Inventarnvi), no. 3, p. 430 (not described, but see Mushegian, p. 88, for verification); Østrup, Cat. Copenhagen, no. 1544, (wrongly attributed to Qizl Arslan b. Ildegiz, but from photograph supplied by Miss Jacobsen in Copenhagen and comparison with Mushegian's illus. for no. 1043, there can be no doubt of the present attribution) (w=5.78 gr., d=approx. 25-27 mm.); Mushegian, Denezhnoe, nos. 128-144, 562-573, 1043 (illus., Pl. XI, fig. 106), 1044-1110 (107 examples all with weight and diameter given, varying d=25-31 mm., w=3.5-10.4 gr.) (tamgha illus., Pl. XVI, fig. 112); ANS, two examples (w=5.82, d=27-29.5 mm., tamgha not visible; w=5.59 gr., d=25-27.5 gr.).

Bartholomaei's reading "son of (Sulayman)" cannot be accepted because the sources are mute on the subject of Ildegiz's father. 41 Surely what he read as bin, son of, was most probably a worn tampha or a floral decoration often

⁴¹⁰n his origin see supra, Introduction.

encountered on Ildegizid coins.42

9A. AE. No mint name or date. With sultan Arslanshah.

Obv. (in a linear circle)

طال Atabak

the Greatest

ایلدکر Ildegiz.

}--

Rev. (in a linear circle)

Sultan Sultan

ارسلان Arslan

son of Tughril.

Bartholomaei à Soret, RNB, 1862, no. 52, p. 52; Markov, Inventarnyl, no. 1, p. 430 (twel examples) not described, but cf. Mushegian, no. 115, p. 87; Mushegian, Deneznoe, nos. 115-118, 959 (ilius. Pl. XI, fig. 107), 960-1042, 1112-1113 (91 examples with variations: d=26-30 mm., w=3.77-10.6 gr.)(tamgha illus., Pl. XVI, fig. 112).

9B. AE. No mint name or date. With sultan Arslanshah.

Same legend as 9A, except tamgha on obverse face:

right instead of left.

Bartholomaei à Soret, RNB, 1862, no. 51, p. 52 (illus., Pl. III, fig. 7); Mushegian, Denezhnoe, nos. 119-124, 125 (illus. Pl. XI, fig. 108), (seven examples with variations: d=25-39(sic) read 29 mm., w=5.0-7.75 gr.) (tamgha illus., Pl. XVI, fig. 113); Pakhomov, Klady, VI, Hl610 (single example, d=26-29 mm.); Pakhomov, Klady, VIII, Hl986, no. 2 (d=28-30 mm., w=8.27 gr.).

⁴² Some are illustrated by Mushegian, Pl. XVI, figs. 107-8, 116-119.

9X. AE. No mint name or date. With sultan Arslanshah.

Like 9A or 9B, except that the tamgha on the obverse is either illegible or not indicated.

Dorn, Nova Supplementa, Cl. XIV, no. aa, 6, pp. 273-274 (The reading of obverse garbled; reference to a specimen in silver cannot be accepted, nor has the piece ever been located.) Markov, Inventarnyi, no. 2, p. 430; Mushegian, Denezhnoe, nos. 551-561, p. 114 (but reference to Markov, no. 1, p. 430 creates ambiguity and could mean these are like type 9A) (variations in d=25-30 mm., w=5.6-10.0 gr.) (11 examples); Pakhomov, Klady, VI, Hl109, nos. 4-22 ("9" [sic] read 19 examples); ANS (d=26-28 mm., w=5.85 gr.).

This issue and the previous one, no. 8, are the atabeg's most numerous. They are characterized by their simplicity with only the unadorned titles sultan and atabak and the lack of any reference to the caliph. Both issues must be broadly dated from the beginning of Arslanshah's sultanate to the death of Ildegiz, 555/1160-571/1175. They were found in large quantities at Dvin and were struck for use in areas of dense Christian population.

10. AE. No mint name or date. With sultan Arslanshah.

⁴³ Sorev made an intensive search for the coin in the museum in St. Petersburg, but was unable to find anything resembling it, RNB, 1862, note on pp. 53-54.

They have also been found in quantity around Naxijawan; Pakhomov, "Monetnoe obrashchenie," p. 87. See also <u>supra</u>, n. 23, and Mushegian, <u>passim</u>.

Obv. (in a linear circle)

اتاك Atabak

ایلد کر Ildegiz.

Rev.

Mushegian, Denezhnoe, no. 1111, p. 150 (illus., Pl. XI, fig. 109, very poor) (tamgha, illus., Pl. XVI, fig. 113, pointing right; other markings on obv. illus., Pl. XVI, figs. 118, 130) (d=27 mm., w=10.3 gr.).

11. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Mustadi (566/1170~575/1180).

Obv.

The Gr]eatest (?)

عادا Atabak

ابلدكر Ildegiz.

Rev.

al-MustadI. السنفى The Sultan السلطان the Supreme

Dorn, Nova Supplementa, Cl. XIV, no.a,6, pp. 273-274 (with typographical error: al-sutan for al-sutan).

If the reading is to be trusted the coin must date from

the five year period between the *ccession of al-Mustadī to the death of Ildegiz (566/1170-1 to 571/1175). It is interesting because of the title given to the sultan (who must be Arslanshah for this period), al-mu^cazzam instead of al-a^czam. It could indicate a striking during one of the many periods of struggle and illwill between the sultan and his atabeg. A more precise date might be 568/1172-3, when al-Mustadī, afraid that Ildegiz might be intent on plundering Baghdad, sent the atabeg a robe of honor and titles. 45

12.(?) AE. No mint name or date.

This type is characterized by the counterstamp, shams (short for Shams al-DIn) usually over anonymous Byzantine bronzes.

G.C. Miles, "Some Islamic Coins in the Berne Historical Museum," Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau, XLV (1966), no. 14, p. 136 (on a bronze assigned to Basil II and Constantine VIII, circa 976-989 A.D., cf., Margaret Thomson's Class A, intermediate type in The Athenian Agora, Coins from the Roman through the Venetian Period (Princeton, 1954), pp. 112-113 (illus., fig. 14) (d=29 mm., 7.57 gr.); Miles in this same article says he has seen the counterstamp on anonymous bronzes of Class K, circa 1081-1118 A.D.

These coins are only conjecturally ascribed to Shams al-DIn Ildegiz. Shams and Shams al-DIn were very common names

⁴⁵ Ibn al-AthIr, IX, p. 121.

in Eastern Anatolia during this period, cf., Zambaur, Manuel, index under "Schams-," pp. 370-371. However, these counterstamped anonymous bronzes turn up in great quantities in northeastern Iran and Adharbayjan, militating for Ildegiz.

Attention should also be drawn to another group of anonymous Byzantine bronzes with the counterstamp, Lti, atabak, which are also found in this same region; they may also be attributed to Ildegiz or one of his successors when they are more thoroughly investigated.

13X. AE. No mint name or date.

Coins of Ildegiz not sufficiently described to be more accurately classified.

Pakhomov, <u>Klady</u>, II, H+15 (several, some with al-Muqtafi, others with al-Mustanjid); Pakhomov, <u>Klady</u>, IV, H1098 (one example), H1109 (three examples, one counterstruck "Abū Bakr"), H1110 (five large pieces, "probably struck at Ardabil"(?); Pakhomov, <u>Klady</u>, VII; H1799, no. 10 (one example with <u>tamgha</u> under "Ildegiz")(d=18.5-27.0 (<u>sic</u>) mm., w=5.72 gr., t=approx. 1.8 mm.).

Finally, a word should be said about coins misattributed to Shams al-Din. One of the first published references
to the coins of the Ildegizids, i.e., "Atabegs of Adherbayjan,"
by Fraehn, Recensio, Cl. XIV, no. 6a, p. 618 (not described),
was; unfortunately, not an Ildegizid coin at all. It was
struck by the Malik of Ahar, Mahmud b. Bishkin. Another was
originally published by S. Lane-Poole, Coins of the Urtuki

Turkmans (Iondon, 1875), no. 87, p. 42 (with other references), and attributed by him to Shams al-Dīn Dā^cūd, 691/1292-693/1294. Unfortunately, Blau, NZ, no. 60, pp. 65-66, thought to change it to Shams al-Dīn Ildegiz; it is not a coin of Ildegiz. Finally, Lane-Poole himself made an error in ascribing a copper, B.M., III, no. 675, p. 240 (illus. Pl. XIII), to Ildegiz. N.M. Lowick, Keeper of Islamic Coins in the British Museum, in a letter dated 27 July 1965, says the coin has now been reattributed to the Dānishmandid Ismā^cīl b. Ibrāhīm, who was also known as Ismā^cīl Shams al-Dīn b. Ibrāhīm. 46

B. Muhammad Jihan Pahlavan b. Ildegiz (571/1175-582/1186) 14.(?) AE. No mint name or date. With sultan's name lacking.

Obv.

سمد مك Muhammad Malik
(sic) الأمير الجلد كن of the amīrs Ildegiz (sic).

Rev.

مك الأسرا Malik of the <u>amīrs</u>.

(عظم)

The Gr(eatest) Sultān

⁴⁶ Zambaur, Manuel, p. 146.

Bartholomaei à Soret, RNB, 1864, no. 28, pp. 342-343; the extra "1" in Ildegiz is probably a typographical error.

The attribution to Muhammad, based on the appearance of the name in the first line of the obverse, is doubtful. The coin could easily be an issue of Shams al-Dīn similar to no. 4 above with the first line, sultān al-aczam, referring to sultan Muhammad b. Mahmūd, effaced. However, if we assume an accurate reading, we may have evidence of a subsidiary issue during Ildegiz's life time. Since Muhammad does not take the title atābak and since his father is assumed alive by the mention of his name on the coin, we may conclude that this was a special issue of Muhammad Jihān perhaps from Ardabīl, which was awarded to Muhammad after it was taken by Ildegiz in 560/1165. Tf the above assumptions are true, the coin is to be dated from 560/1165 until the death of Ildegiz, 571/1175.

15X. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-MustadI and Seljuq sultan Arslanshah.

No further description is given.

Pakhomov, Klady, VII, H1801, B, no. 240 (one example).

⁴⁷ Akhbar, p. 157.

If the attribution is correct, then we have further evidence to support the hypothesis of more than one minting authority in the Ildegizid realm. The coin can be more narrowly dated than the previous example from the first year of al-MustadI's caliphate, 566/1170, to 571/1175. Of course there is the rare possibility that the coin was struck by Muhammad during the two month period in late 571/1170 between the deaths of his father and sultan Arslanshah, RabI^C II/- October-November, 571/1175 to Jumadā II/December-January, 571/1175-1176.

16. AE. No mint name. (57)2/(117)6-(117)7.

The coin is not described, but probably has legends similar to the dated coins which follow.

Markov, Inventarnyi, no. 5, p. 430.

17. AE. No mint name. (57)3/(117)7-(117)8. With caliph al-Mustadi and sultan Tughril b. Arslanshah (571/1175-6 to 590/1194).

Opa.

الملك The Malik

المحما The Supreme, A
المحما tabak-i a czam(?)(the Greatest

Atabak)

Muhammad

48 See supra, n. 11.

"the year (57)3." Margin:

Rev.

السرالل biamrilläh

al-Mustadi.
The Supreme Sultan

Tughril.

Soret, RN, 1859, no. 1 (third specimen), pp. 485-486.

18. AE. No mint name. (5)74/(11)78-(11)79. With caliph al-MustadI.

Obv.

The Malik

the Supreme, Ata-

..... اعل bak I....

[.....]

Margin: , four, s[eventy]...

Rev.

al-MustadI السنض المراللة biamrillah. Commander

of the Faithful.

Margin: A trace, but undecipherable.

Bartholomaei à Soret, RNB, 1862, no. 55, pp. 54-55.

19. AE. Ardabil. (57)5/(117)9-(118)0.

The coin is not described, but probably has legends similar to the dated coins above.

Markov, Inventarnyi, no. 4, p. 430.

20A. AE. Ardabil. No date. With caliph al-Mustadi and sultan Tughril.

Obv. (in a double linear circle)

The Malik الملك

the Supreme, Ata-

bak the Greatest بك الأعظم

سعيد Muhammad.

Margin: أردبيل , ArdabIl, within a double circle.

Rev.

biamrillah بأسرالك al-MustadI.

السلطان The Sultan

Tughril.

Soret, RN, 1859, no. 1 (second example); Pakhomov, Klady, VII, H1799 a) nos. 11-50 (40 examples, some with "Ardabil" clear, two with the mistake billah instead of biamrillah; on the reverse of some can be seen animal figures) (now in the Derbend, Dagestan, U.S.S.R. Museum); Berlin, unpublished, Access., Gagarin 320/1885 (cast in ANS; a few letters of Arda-bil(?) are legible in the margin) (w=15.17 gr.). 20B. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-MustadI and sultan Tughril.

Obv.

The Malik الملك

the Supreme A-

talekthe Greatest بابك الأعظم

Muhammad.

Margin: (۱)[fall s, year (?)

Rev.

hiamrillah بأسرالله

al-Mustadī.

The Supreme Sultan

Tughril.

Soret, RN, 1859, no. 1 (first specimen).

Soret reads the fragmentary first word of the obverse , fals, or, تبريسز Tabriz. margin as either His preference is for the latter reading, but I would suspect that this like the previous specimen is an issue of ArdabIl and that the reading fals is to be chosen since it is found on a later issue of Muhammad, cf., no. 21, infra. 49

However, it should be noted that Pakhomov had suggested TabrIz as a likely mint; "Monetnoe obraschchenie," p. 100, cf., supra, "chap. Two," n. 173.

20C. AE. No mint name or date. Names effaced. Obv. (in a double linear circle) الملك The Malik the Supreme, Atabak-1 aczam Margin: some letters visible between the two circles, but not readable. Rev. The Sulta [n] ... عظم ... the [Sup] reme [......] Margin: ... østrup, <u>Cat. Copenhagen</u>, no. 1542, p. 163 (obverse legend completed from a photograph supplied by Miss Jacobsen) (w=16.45 gr.). 20D. AE. No mint name or date. Names effaced. Oby. (within two linear circles) The Malik the Supreme ملحاً علم Atabak-1 a c zam Muhammad.

Rev. completely effaced.

Mushegian, <u>Denezhnoe</u>, no. 146, pp. 89-90 (illus., Pl. XII, fig. III, very poor) (the coin is compared to Markov's no. 5, cf. no. 16 above) (d=30, w=16).

Mushegian points out that these coins which he considers to be of the type struck in Ardabil, are very rarely found in Armenia. Of the hundreds of Ildegizid from the Dvin excavations, there is only this single example of Muhammad.

to the first four years of Pahlavan's reign, 571/1175575/1180, the latter year being that of caliph al-Mustadi's
death. They are also probably from Ardabil; unfortunately,
their poor striking and worn condition do not permit
accurate readings of the margins where the date and place
of striking are found. Ildegiz, in order to assure a
position of primacy for his family in the lands of the Iraq
Seljuq state, had wisely placed sultan Arslanshah's son, the
young Tughril, in the custody of his own eldest son, Muhammad.
Thus, as atabeg to the prince who was most likely to succeed
to the Seljuq sultanate, he was in an excellent position to
take advantage of the fortuituous death of sultan Arslanshah

⁵⁰ Denezhnoe, p. 90.

shortly after that of his father. Within the dyarchy, there existed a bitter antagonism even during Ildegiz's time. The sultan aware of the historical grandeur of the Great Seljuq Empire, resented his dependence on the atabeg, a mamluk by origin, for the maintenance and defense of his empire.

There were three contending forces in Iraq, al-Jibal and Adharbayjan, the caliphate, the Seljuq sultanate and the Ildegizid atabegate. The last was trying to consolidate its newly secured political power, while at the same time trying to establish its own dynastic empire. The sultanate was working to regain its military independence from the atabegate. The caliphate was endeavouring to restore its position, held in name only under a hundred years of Seljuq hegemony, as the supreme political, administrative and religious force in the traditional Islamic heartland. As al-MuqtafI and Ildegiz worked together against Sultan Muhammad b. Mahmud, 51 so now we might assume that al-MustadI and Muhammad Jihan were on good terms. Unfortunately, the literary sources afford almost no information on their relationships. However, the consistent mention of the caliph's name on all the Ildegizid coins of this period indicates a

⁵¹ See <u>supra</u>, nn. 6, 7, 32, 34.

very friendly relationship. On at least one issue, no. 18 of 574/1178-1179, the caliph's name is followed by the honorific, amīr al-mu'minnīn, "Commander of the Faithful," where we would expect to find the title and name of the Seljuq sultan. Just the opposite was true during the last years of Shams al-Dīn and Arslānshāh when the largest issues omit any reference to the caliph al-Mustanjid. But now, during sultan Tughril's minority, Muhammad Pahlavān had full control of the state. In addition to his father's title of atābak al-aczam, he took a new one, perhaps confirmed by the caliph al-Mustadī, al-malik al-mucazam, "the Supreme Malik," firmly attested to by our coins. 52

21. AE. Ardabīl. No date. With caliph al-Nāṣir (575/1180-622/1225) and sultan Tughril.

Obv.

الملك The Malik
المعظما the Supreme, Aالمعظما tabak the Greatest
محد Muhammad.

Margin: illegible.

Rev.

al-Nāṣir الناصر lidīnillāh

⁵²Kenneth Luther has informed me that Muhammad's assuming of this new title is now confirmed by a reference in Ta'rikh al-Wuzara', an anonymous continuation of Anushirwan b. Khalid's Futur Zaman al-Sudur, which is

sultan

the Supreme المعظم

Margin:

"copper of Ardabli."

Soret, RN, 1859, no. 2, p. 486 (Soret does not supply the obverse reading, but says it is like his no. 1, pp. 485-486, i.e., our no. 20B).

22. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Nasir.

Obv.

The Sultan

the Supreme

ماندا دار من bak-i aczam

Muhammad.

Rev.

الله Allah

al-Nāṣir.

The Sultan السلطان

Dorn, Nova Supplementa, Cl. XIV, no. 6, aa, p. 274 (logically there should be a forth line indicated on the reverse even if not legible; Dorn omits such indication). Soret suggests changing the first line

a newly discovered and valuable source on the Seljuqs of Iraq. This Persian manuscript is now in Cairo; Luther reported on it briefly at the 1967 convention of the American Oriental Society in New Haven, Connecticut.

of the obverse from al-sultan to al-malik in conformity to his no. 2 our no. 21 above, RN, 1859, p. 486.

If the reading al-sultan al-mu^cazzam should be correct, the only possible historical explanation would be that Muhammad's power and arrogance had reached the point where only the same title as that of his charge Tughril would satisfy him. Of course the consent of caliph al-Nasir would have been necessary.

23. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Nasir.

المامر Muhammad بيان بيلو(ان) Jihān Pahlav(ān) اعظم Greatest...

Rev.

al-Nāṣir
النامر lidīnillāh.

Dorn, Nova Supplementa, Cl. XIV, no. 6, a, p. 274.

The last three issues, nos. 21-23, are to be roughly dated from the beginning of al-Nasir's caliphate to the death of Muhammad Jihan Pahlavan, i.e., 575/1180-582/1186.

24X. AE. Ardabīl or unknown mint. No date(s).

Coins of Muhammad insufficiently described to be more accurately classified.

Fraehn, Das Muh. Münzen des Asiatischen Museum der K.A. der Wissenschaft zu St. Petersburg, 1821, p. 42 (one example, unedited); Markov, Inventarnyl, no. 6, p. 430 (not described); Pakhomov, Klady, IV, Hill4, no. 8 (with Tughril); Pakhomov, Klady, VII, H1790, no. 2 (one example), H1799 b) nos. 51-55 (five examples, one with Ardabil), v) nos. 56-63 (eight ex., all worn), g) no. 64 (d=27-29 mm., t=approx. 3.0 mm., w=15.39 gr.), d) no. 65 (d=approx. 30 mm., t=3.6 mm.), H1800, no. 2 (five examples, date and mint worn, but "Ardabil" type).

- C. oizl Arslan Cuthman b. Ildegiz (582/1186-587/1191)
- 25. AE. No mint name or date.

OpA.

وizl. قسؤل

Rev.

4th Atabak

Mushegian, <u>Denezhnce</u>, no. 180, p. 93 (marking on obverse illus. Pl. XVI, fig. 119) '"irregular," d=2.1(<u>sic</u>) read 21 mm., w=6.75 gr.).

26A. AE. No mint name or date. With sultan Sanjar b.
Smlayman. Plate III

Obv. (in a linear circle)

Greatest اعظم Atābak Qizl مايك نسرل Arslān.

Rev. (in a linear circle)

sultan سلطان

Sanjar son of

سليمان Sulayman.

Mushegian, Denezhnoe, nos. 147-159, 160 (snake like marking under first line of obverse, illus. Pl. XVI, fig. 117), 161-173, 174 (marking as no. 160), 175-179 (33 examples, tamgha illus., Pl. XVI, fig. 113)(with variations of d=24-29 mm., w=4.25-9.25 gr.); Pakhomov, Klady, VI, H1612, p. 49 (one example); Pakhomov, Klady, VIII, H1986, nos. 3-8 (one of five specimens); ANS (d=23-25 mm., w=6.67 gr.).

26B. AE. No mint name or date. With sultan Sanjar b. Sulayman.

Obv.

Greatest اعظم

Atabak qizl اتابك نسرل Atabak qizl ارسلان

Rev.

المان سنجربن Sultan Sanjar son of سلطان سنجربن Sulayman.

Mushegian, <u>Denozhnoe</u>, nos. 574-584 (li examples) (variation of d=24-30 mm., w=3.0-8.0 gr.)(like Markov, nos. 9-10, pp. 430-431, cf., p. 115, which is confusing because of the similar reference to Markov, no. 9-10, under our no. 26B) (tamgha illus. Pl. XVI, fig. 113).

26C. No mint name or date. With sultan Sanjar b. Sulayman.

with the same legends as no. 26A except that the tampha on the reverse faces left instead of right.

Markov, Inventarnyi, no. 9, p. 430 (cf., Mushegian, Denezhnoe, p. 150); Mushegian, Denezhnoe, nos. 1114 (illus., Pl. XI, fig. 110), 1115-6, 1117 (star under aczam) (tamghā illus., Pl. XVI, fig. 113) (with variations of d=24-28 mm., w=5.67-7.20 gr.); Pakhomov, Klady, VIII, H1986, nos. 3-8 (one of five specimen).

26X. AE. No mint name or date. With sultan Sanjar b. Sulayman.

With the same legends as nos. 26A and B, but tamgha on the reverse is either illegible or not indicated.

Dorn, Nova Supplementa, no. 6, b (second example only), pp. 274-275, Markov, Inventarnyi, nos. 9-12, 13 (counterstamped atabak/Abu Bakr); Østrup, Cat. Copenhagen, no. 1543, p. 162 (Sanjar is incorrectly read "Muhammad;" from photograph supplied by Anne Jacobsen, tamgha looks as though it might face left) (w=9.06 gr.); Pakhomov, Klady, IV, Hl109, nos. 23-72 (50 examples, two counterstamped Abu Bakr; these could be of the subsequent or even a different type); Pakhomov, Klady, VIII, Hl986, nos. 3-8 (six examples, but one with tamgha right and left as indicated above) (variation of d=25-27 mm., w=5.78, 6.32, 6.35, 6.70, 7.90 gr., only five given); Istoriia Azerbaldzhana, I, p. 144 (illus., not described); ANS, four examples (d=25-26, 25-26, 26-27, 25-26 mm., w=6.85, 7.99, 9.96, 10.30 gr.).

Muhammad Jihan Pahlavan died in early 582/1186 and was succeeded by his brother Qizl Arslan CUthman. Relations between the sultan and his atabeg had degenerated; Tughril was afraid that Qizl wanted to replace him. 53 Even under

⁵³ RawandI, p. 338.

Ildegiz the dual system of rule relied on a delicate balance of power among the various territorial amirs in the provinces of the Iraq sultanate. Sultans Muhammad, Arslanshah and Tughril tried to win the allegiance of as many of these amirs as possible to counterbalance the forces of the Ildegizids, who were also part of the amIral structure. After the death of Muhammad Pahlavan, Tughril, still a youth, but obtaining ever more authority, tried to obtain enough support from the various amirs to achieve independence from his atabeg. However, these efforts failed and Qizl Arslan maintained the upper hand, virtually keeping the young sultan as a captive. 54 The final rupture between Qizl and Tughril came in mid-583/1187 when sultan Tughril managed to make his escape from Qizl's custody. 55 This touched off two decades of hostilities between Tughril and the Ildegizid atabegs in the area of al-Jibal. As the above coins indicate, Qizl's reaction against Tughril was total and swift. In Rajab/-August-September, 584/1188, Qizl appointed Tughril's uncle Sanjar b. Sulayman sultan. 56

27. AE. No mint name. (58)5/(118)9. With sultan Sanjar b. Sulayman.

⁵⁴RawandI, pp. 338-339; Akhtar, pp. 173-174.

⁵⁵Rāwandī, p. 340.

⁵⁶See <u>supra</u>, n. 14.

Obv.

tive خسس The Supreme Malik الملك المعظم Qizl Arslan مسالان son of Il...

Rev.

السلطان (?) ه (?). The Sultan

the Greatest Sanjar

حسح

son of Sulayman.

Bartholomaei à Soret, RNB, 1864, no. 29, p. 343.

In the turmoil Tughril tried to make peace with caliph al-Nāsir, even sending his small son to Baghdad, but to no avail. 57 Qizl reaffirmed his appointment of Sanjar b. Sulaymān as sultan with the full title of sultān al-aczam as indicated by this coin.

28. AE. No mint name or date. With sultan Sanjar b. Sulayman.

Obv.

[0]izl Arsla[n] [نهرن ارسالان]

⁵⁷ See Luther, pp. 251-253, for a discussion of these events.

[عنان بن ایلود] [Uth man son of Il[de-] و عنان بن ایلود] و giz Ata [bak].

Rev.

اللهطان [Sul]tan

Pakhomov, <u>Klady</u>, VI, H1799, nos. 66-67 (undescribed except for the following: "With the names Qizl-Arslan CUthman, sultan Sanjar and caliph al-Nasir the name of the city is not visible; from the date on one example there is preserved the number '80'; 686(1287/8)" (<u>sic</u>) should be read (?) 586(1190); ANS (d=25-26.5 mm., w=7.86 gr.) (my reading from this example).

If Pakhomov intends by his reference to indicate that he reads "Uthmān," cf., p. 47, then my reading of the second and third lines is almost surely correct. However, if he just adds this as part of Qizl's full name, then the state of preservation of the coin in the American Numismatic Society does not allow for a conclusive reading of "CUthmān." This is the only example known with Qizl's full name.

Pakhomov's dating is curious. There is an obvious error, but not merely a typographical one of the wrong century. It is not clear how he reasoned from "80" to (6)86 (sic). However, assuming that the "80" was an error for "86" there is still difficulty for 586 is 1190 A.D. and not

1187-8 A.D. Since 686 is 1287/8 I assume that Pakhomov meant 586 which is 1190 A.D.

Finally, it is not unreasonable to assume that nos.

27 and 28 are similar and complementary issues. Pakhomov probably read "six," " ", above the obverse and we should complete the reverse legends of the Bartholomaei coin and the ANS coin with the names of Sanjar b. Sulayman and caliph al-Nasir.

29. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Nasir.

Obv.

Rev.

al-Nāsir [...]
مالقاصر الماليل الماليل Allāh. The Sult...
د the Greatest

Soret, RN, 1860, no. 3, pp. 68-69 (we are told that the coin has a counterstamp on the obverse, but not what it is).

29. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Nasir.

Obv. (with highly stylized Kuff script)

The Sup[reme] Malik

(إن الملك المعلِظم]

(إن الملك المعلِظم]

(إن الملك المعلِظم]

(إن الملك المعلِظم]

(with highly stylized Kufi script)

([النا] مرلد[بن]

(الملك المعللات]

(الملك المعللات]

(الملك المعللات)

ANS (d=23.5=28 mm., w=8.02 gr.).

I have completed the last line of the obverse on the basis of the incomplete legend of no. 29A. These two issues seem to be the same, but the vagueness of Soret's reading and the state of preservation of the ANS example do not allow more certainty. I have placed these coins after the previous issue, but with no concrete justification. They could date from any of the five years of Cizl Arslan's rule, 582/1186-1187 to 587/1191. We know that Tughril was taken prisoner by Qizl in the third quarter of 586/1190 and held captive in Adharbayjan. In the same year Qizl, seemingly prompted by al-Nāsir, declared the end of the Seljuq dynasty

and at the same time his own sultanate. 58 One would expect that coins were struck to celebrate this occasion, but no such numismatic evidence has come to light. However, as mentioned above, Qizl married Inanj Khatun. The act was symbolic, reminiscent of Ildegiz's marriage to the widowed mother of the future Sultan Arslanshah. There was apparently little love in the new union, for Qizl Arslan was poisoned by Inanj Khatun in the next year, Shawwal/October-November, 587/1191.59

30X. AE. No mint name or date.

Coins of Qizl Arslan Uthman, but are insufficiently described to be more accurately classified.

Markov, Inventarnyi, nos. 7-8, p. 430; Pakhomov, Klady, IV, Hlllo, no. 5, pp. 39-40 (not described except for "Cuthman," i.e., Qizl Arslan Cuthman, which may be like no. 28, see discussion there); Hll44 no. b, p. 47 (one example); Pakhomov, Klady, VIII, Hl982, p. 35 (one example); cf., B. Piotrovskii, Karmirblur, III (Erevan, 1955), p. 13.

The following coins have been misattributed to Qizl, Arslan, Dorn; Nova Supplementa, Cl. XIV, no. 6, b (first specimen).

⁵⁸ See supra, nn. 14 and 15.

⁵⁹See <u>supra</u>, n. 16 and the general discussion of this type of marriage between the atabeg and his ward's mother in Sanaullah, <u>Decline</u>, p. 5, quoted in full <u>supra</u>, p. 89.

Obv.

ناصر الدین قسز Nasir al-Din, Qiz-المحمد L Arslan Muhammad son of Seljuq.

Margin:

The Supreme Sultan Tughril Son السلطان المعظم طغرل بن of Arslan.

Rev.

Warrior on horseback galloping to the left while executing the Parthian shot.

Soret, with uncertainty, describes a similar coin in the collection of M. le Marquis de Lagoy, RN, 1860, no. 4, p. 69 (illus. Pl. (RN, 1859) XXI, fig. no. 4). The same type with an illustrated (drawing) is found in Valentine, Early Muhammadan Coins, (manuscript in the ANS), Pl.13, fig. 28. The coin in question should be attributed to the Saltuqid dynasty of Erzerum, cf., A. Ziya, Constantinople, IV, no. 93.

rinally, there is the coin of gstrup, <u>Cat. Copenhagen</u>, no. 1544, p. 163, attributed to Qizl Arslan, but now corrected and ascribed to Shams al-Din Ildegiz, see <u>supra</u> no. 8.

- D. Abu Bakr b. Muhammad Jihan Pahlavan b. Ildegiz (587/1191-607/1211)
- 31. AE. No mint name or date.

Coins of Shams al-DIn Ildegiz counterstruck

اتابك Atābak أبوبكر Abū Bakr.

Pakhomov, Klady, IV, Hl109, of nos. 1-3 one example.

32. AE. No mint name or date.

Coins of Qizl Arslan Cuthman b. Ildegiz of varieties 26A-X, likewise counterstruck as above.

Bartholomae à Soret, RNB, 1862, no. 56, p. 55 (illus., fig. 8); Markhov, Inventarnyi, no. 13, p. 431 (illus.); Pakhomov, Klady, IV, Hll09, of nos. 23-72 two examples; Pakhomov, Klady, VIII, Hl986, no. 9 (d=25-26 mm., w=6.60 gr.); Mushegian, Denezhnoe, nos. 585-587, p. 115 (3 examples overstruck on obverse, variations of d=25-29, w=4.50, 5.87, 6.70) (overstrike illus., Pl. XVI, fig. no. 3), nos 214-218, p. 96 (5 examples not specifically identified as coins of 0121 Arslan because of their state of preservation, d=26,28,26,27,26 mm.; w=6.2, 7.6, 6.4, 5.2, 6.8 gr.); Berlin, Münzkabinett, unpublished, access. no. 919/1902 (overstrike on obverse, d=approx. 27-29 mm., w=9.35 gr.) (cast in ANS).

This simple counterstruck issue of Abū Bakr is placed chronologically first because the sudden death of his uncle Qizl Arslan must have necessitated a quick assertion of Abū Bakr's authority. The coins were probably struck in Adharbayjan; upon Qizl's death Abū Bakr immediately left Hamadan for the northwest where he founded a separate state which outlasted the Seljuq sultanate of Iraq. One The five years after Qizl's death in late 587/1191 are ones of constant turmoil between Abū Bakr and his two step-brothers Qutlugh Inanj and

⁶⁰ See supra, the text at n. 18.

Amīr Amīrān. In fact it was Qutlugh Inānj and not Abā Bakr who was the chief Ildegizid atabeg working in the dyarchy system against sultan Tughril. 61 Because of this internal conflict within the atabeg house, Tughril was able to assert control of the central Iraq Seljuq lands in al-Jibāl. Thus while the conflict between Qutlugh and the sultan raged in the southeast, Abū Bakr was secure in Arran and Adharbayjān. Unfortunately, no coins of either Qutlugh Inānj nor Amīr Amīrān are known to exist.

There is also the possibility that these coins were struck before qizl's death and in fact any time after 582/1186, the year of qizl's succession. It is quite possible that Abū Bakr took command of the northern sector of the Ildegizid domain and struck his own coins even though his uncle was titular head of the whole family. 100 In conclusion these coins are probably issues of 587-8/1191-2, but could have been struck a few years before or after that date.

33. AE. Ardabīl. (58)8/(119)3. Probably with caliph al-Nāsir.

The coin is not further described.

Markov, Inventarnyi, no. 14, p. 431.

⁶¹ Luther, pp. 253-254.

⁶² See <u>supra</u>, text at n.12, p.292.

34A. AE. No mint name but probably Ardabil. (5)8x/(11)9X.

Obv. (In a circle of dots)

(Jahan) Pahlavan (عظم)أتابك [Gr] (eatest) Atabak (sic) (<u>sic</u>) (أبه يكر) بن محمد (Abu Bakr) son of Muhammad.

Rev. (in a circle of dots)

(ال) الكناصر (لدين) (al-) Nāsir (lidīn) -Commander of the Faith منین full.

<u>Margin</u>: below bow, بنة مانین , year eighty.

Bartholomaei à Soret, RNB, 1859, no. 88, pp. 434-435 (illus., Pl. XVI, fig. 23) (the illus. shows an animal figure placed sideways to the left of the third line of the obv.).

Bartholomaei read the date as 580/1164 which can hardly be correct since Muhammad was still alive. date is more probably 587-8-9/1191-2-3 and, in view of the discussion, supra, under nos. 31-32, possibly 582/1186-586/1190.

34B. AE. No mint but probably Ardabil. Probably (58)X/-(119)X.

Field as in 35A.

Bartholomaei & Soret, RNB, 1861, no. 23, p. 48.

Since Bartholomaei gives Abu Bakr's dates as 587/1191-594/1198 (sic), it is strange that he does not correct or at least explain his reading of 580/1184 on coin no. 34A to which he compares this coin.

34C. AE. Mint name worn, probably ArdabIl. (5)8X/(11)9X. With caliph al-Nasir.

Obv. Abbreviated description, "...abzam...

Abū Bakr, son ... [...أبوبكربن..];

below a tamghā..."

Rev. Abbreviated description, name and title of al-Nasir with trace of tamgha.

Pakhomov, <u>Klady</u>, VII, H1799, no. 69(d=23-26 mm., t=2-2.2 mm., w=9.63 gr.).

35. AE. Ardabii. (5)9X/(11)9(4)-(12)03.

No further description.

Markov, Inventarnyi, nos. 15 and 16, p. 431.

36A. AB. ArdabIl. No date.

OpA.

طراتا Greatest Atabak

Abu Bakr son of Muhammad.

Rev.

الله الناصر لدين al-Nasir lidin.

Commander of the Faithful.

Markov, Inventarnyi, no. 17, pp. 431-432 (Ardabil legible, but no tampha direction indicated, however, by Mushegian's reference we can assume it is toward the left, cf., infra); Mushegian, Denezhnoe. no. 212, p. 96 (tampha illus., Pl. XVI, fig. 114), with reference to Markov, no. 17 (d=24 mm., w=5.05 gr.); Yapi ve Kredi Bankasi, Istanbul, no. 12/2, only tampha on reverse clear (d=approx. 23 mm., w=3.85 gr.).

36B. AB. (Ardabil). No date.

Same legend 23 no. 36A, the bow is below the last line of the obverse; area where the reverse bow should be found is worn.

Berlin, Münzkabinett, no. 7, access. Gutherie 1876, (d=approx. 22.5-24 mm., w=7.42 gr.) (cast in ANS).

36C. AE. (ArdabIl) No date.

The same except mistake al-dIn for lidIn in the second line of the reverse.

B.N. (unpublished), E.2839, access., 1864 Souchet, Lenoir.

37A. AE. No mint name. No date. With caliph al-Nasir.

OpA.

Allāh

Jihān Pahlavān

Greatest Atābak

Abū Bakr son of Muhammad.

Rev.

الله عالله الناصرالدين (sic) الناصرالدين al-Nasir al-dīn (sic)
البراليونين Commander of the Faithful.

Dorn, Nova Supplementa, no. 6,c, p. 275 (two examples) (typographical error al-mu'min for al-mu'min min).

Mushegian, Denezhnoe, no. 213, p. 96 (tamgha illus., Pl. XVI, fig. 115; bow illus., Pl. XVI, fig. 116) (d=21 mm., w=3.25 gr.); Paris, B.N. (unpublished), E.2840, access. Souchet, Lenoir 1864 (poor specimen, area of lidin worn); Berlin, Münzkabinett, no. 6, access. Gutherie 1876 (d=approx.22-26.5 mm., w=6.27 gr.) (cast in ANS); ANS (very poor specimen) (d=24-27 mm., w=5.24 gr.).

37X. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Nasir.

Probably the same, but no further description except
the characteristic error al-din for lidin.

Pakhomov, Klady, VII, H1797, under II.

38A. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Nasir.

Plate III

Opv.

340

[المان بهلوان] [Jihāh Pahlavān]

المان بهلوان] [Gr]eatest Atābak

[Abū Bakr son of] Muḥammad.

[Al] [Al] [Al] [Al] [al-Nā] sir lidīn

[المان المونين] [Commander] of the Faith
[ful].

Margin: Above and to left.

(٩) لد عن بن سف LD CN BN SF (٩)

ANS (d=24-28 mm., w=9.09 gr.); the letters are guessed at.

38B. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Nasir.

ODV.

(?)

[المنظم على المعلوان]

[Gr] eatest Ata[bak]

[المعلم الما إليك]

[A] bu Bakr son of Muh [ammadi.

Rey.

cumar b. al-Suf (?). suggested

[النا] مرلدين [al-Na] sir lidin

Commander of the Faith[ful].

Berlin, Münzkabinett, no. 12, access. Gutherie 320/1885 (d=approx. 22-24 mm., w=6.99 gr., cast in ANS) (obverse tampha direction guessed).

38C. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Nasir.

بہلوان Jihan Pahlavan
[Greanlest Ata[bak].

Rev.

Istanbul, Yapi ve Kredi Bankasi, no. 2/1 (d=approx. 27 mm., w=7.65 gr.).

39X. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Nasir.

Plate III

Coins of the same general type as nos. 36-38, but insufficiently described for further classification. Their common element is the name of caliph al-Nasir lidin. The words "or 'Uzbek" in parenthesis indicate that those specimens might have been struck by Abū

Bakr or his brother and successor 'Uzbek, their state of preservation being too poor to distinguish which name appears on the coins.

Markos, <u>Inventarny</u>, nos. 18-29, pp. 431-432 (12 examples); Østrup, <u>Cat. Copenhagen</u>, no. 1545, p. 163 (w=6.12 gr.); Mushegian, <u>Denezhnoe</u>, nos. 589-591, p. 115 (d=25,26,28 mm., w=4.35,7.2,9.2 gr.)); Pakhomov, Klady, I, Hll5 (32 examples), H123 (one example), H125 (3 examples, probably Abu Bakr); Pakhomov, Klady, II, H+23 (one example, or 'Uzbek), H425 (8 of 20 specimens either Abu or *Uzbek); Pakhomov, Klady, IV, Hl109, no. 102, Hl101, no. 1, Hl114, nos. 9-15 (eight examples), nos. 29-82 (54 examples either Abu Bakr or 'Uzbek); Pakhomov, Klady, VII, H1799, nos. 70-80 (11 examples with tamgha visible), nos. 105-215 (111 examples either Abu Bakr or Uzbek), H1800, no. 3 (two examples either Abu Bakr or 'Uzbek), H1801, no. 223, nos. 19, 49 (two examples), 60,85,86, nos. 149,167,207,230, and 14 more examples without number, either Abu Bakr or Uzbek; Pakhomov, Klady, VIII, H1985 (eight examples either Abu Bakr or Uzbek), H1984 (three examples either Abu Bakr or 'Uzbek); Pakhomov, Klady, IX, H2115 (one example, d=19-24 mm., t=2.0 mm.), H2117 (either Abu Bakr or Uzbek, d=23-25, w=5.05 gr., t=1.0-2.0)(tamgha visible), H2ll6, nos. 1-2 (d=20-24, 17-20 mm., t=approx. 2.5, 2 mm., w=8.41, 6.07 gr.), no. 3 (either Abu Bakr or 'Uzbek; d=18-22 mm., t=approx. 1.5 mm., w=4.88 gr.), nos 5-6 (Abu Bakr or 'Uzbek; d=18-22 mm.) *Uzbek; d=18-24.5, 18-18.5 mm., t=approx. 1.5, 3.0 mm., w=4.06, 4.15 grs.); ANS (5 examples, one with al-din; d=24-29.5, 22-25, 22-24.5, 22?5-24, 20-23 mm., w=10.58, 8.47, 8.28, 7.80, 7.38 gr.).

Not only is there the problem of attribution of so many of these coins to either Abū Bakr or 'Uzbek, but also because of their poor striking and state of preservation, one often finds them attributed to Muhammad Jihan Pahlavan since his name is also given as part of Abū Bakr's. It is almost impossible to date the coins of this issue more specifically than between 587/1191-607/1211, the years of

Abu Bakr's reign, even though none have been found dated after 600/1203.

40A. AE. Ardabīl. (5)94. With caliph al-Nasir.

The Supreme Sultan,

Shahanshah the Greatest

Abū Bakr (son of)

Muhammad.

Margin: bottom منت , year; right: بر ... for ارسے , four; top: منب , ninety; left: effaced but probably مرب , struck.

Rev.

There is no god but Allah.

Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah.

al-Nāṣir lidInillah.

...ful.

Margin. top: بأزد بيل , at Ardabīl; nothing in the others.

Soret, RN, 1860, no. 5, pp. 69-70 (Obverse, illus., RN, 1859, Pl. XXII, fig. 5) (conjecture in obverse margin in Soret's); reference to the same coin with a copy of the line drawing illustration of obverse in Valentine, E.M.C., no. 29, Pl. 13.

40B. AE. No mint name, probably Ardabil. No date. With caliph al-Nasir.

ODY.

(؟) The Greatest Sultan (?).

دناء المعظم (؟). Shahanshah the Supreme (?).

اب یکر (ین محمد) Abu Bakr (son of Muhammad).

Margin: worn

Rev.

There is no god but Allah.

Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah.

al-Nasir lidIn

الناصرلدين

Commander of the Faithful.

Pakhomov, <u>Klady</u>, VII, H1799, no. 68 (question marks on obverse are Pakhomov's; it is not clear if he means the reading is doubtful or the meaning is doubtful) (d=26-27 mm., t=2.5-3.1 mm., w=14.50 gr.).

Except for reversal of al-a cam and al-mucazzam in the first two lines of the obverse and the lack of marginal readings on Pakhomov's specimen, nos. 40A and B seem to be of the same type. The latter specimen is now in the regional museum in Derbend and probably can be checked. We do not know the present lecation of Soret's coin. As Soret pointed out, Abu Bakr has taken the exalted title

بادناه , Shah of Shahs, for himself. We have no other reference to his use of this title. In 590/1194

Tughril b. Arslanshah, the last Sultan of Iraq, died in battle

against the Khwarazmshah. Abu Bakr gained control over the lands of Arran and Adharbayjan; his step-brother Amir Amiran, had died trying to resist him with Georgian help, but Khwarazmshah Takash (586/1172-596/1199), who had already taken Rayy in 588/1192 from Tughril. Soret, RN, pp. 69-70, mistakenly supposed the sultan to be the Khwarazmshah Jalal al-pin, who did not begin to rule until 617/1220.

41A. AE. No mint name or date.

Obv. (in a double circle, the outer formed of dots)

Abu Bakr أبوبكر

son of Muhammad.

Rev. (in a double circle, the outer one of dots)

Greatest اعظم

यां Atabak.

Bartholomaei à Soret, RNB, 1862, nos. 57-58, p. 56; Markov, <u>Inventarnyi</u>, no. 30, p. 431 (ref. from

⁶⁴ See supra, n. 17.

⁶⁵ Akhbar, pp. 185-190.

⁶⁶ See supra, text at nn. 16 and 17.

⁶⁷ Ibn al-Athir, IX, p. 230.

Mushegian, p. 93); Mushegian, Denezhnoe, nos. 181 (with snake like marking below "Muhammad"; illus., Pl. XVI, fig. 117)(with one reference to Markov), 182 (illus., Pl. XII, fig. 113), 183-190, 193-195, 196 (with tampha-like marking under "Muhammad"; illus., Pl. XVI, fig. 120), 198, 199, 200 (with same tampha-like marking as no. 196), 202-211, 219-227 (36 examples in all with variations of d=22-28 mm., w=3.65-7.50 gr.); ANS (with tampha-like marking under "Muhammad" and other markings, most notably stars above the b of Bakr and after atabak; d=24-26 mm., w=4.56 gr.).

41B. AE. No mint name or date.

The same as 41A, except that the reverse field is surrounded by three circles, the middle one is made of dots.

Mushegian, <u>Denezhnoe</u>, no. 1119, p. 151 (with reference to Markov, no. 30, p. 431, but probably only for the legend) (d=2.5 mm., w=5.20 gr.).

41C. AE. No mint name or date.

The same as 41A, but both obverse and reverse are mistakenly stamped with an obverse die.

Mushegian, Denezhnoe, no. 197 (d=24 mm., w=5.55 gr.); Pakhomov, Klady, IV, Hlll4, no. 83.

41D. AE. No mint name or date.

Obv. (same legend as in 41A, but field enclosed by triple circle, the center composed of dots).

Rev. (as 41A, but with legend reversed)

دان Atabak

Greatest.

Mushegian, <u>Denezhnoe</u>, no. 191 (d=26 mm., w=7.5 gr.) (reference to Markov, <u>Inventarnyi</u>, p. 431, no. 32, but presumably this is to the general type rather than a reversed legend).

42A. AR. No mint name or date.

Obv. (in double linear circle)

-1 Abū

بکر بن Bakr son of

سعد Muhammad

Rev. (in a triple circle, the center of dots)

Greatest Greatest

طال Atabak.

Mushegian, Deneznoe, no. 192, with snake like figure above (illus., Pl. XVI, fig. 117) (d=24 mm., w=4.6 gr.), no. 201 (d=25 mm., w=5.7 gr.), no. 588 with reference to Markov, Inventarnyi, no. 30, p. 431, but this reference already alluded to supra no. 41A (d=25 mm., w=6.35 gr.); ANS (d=24-26 mm., w=8.16 gr.).

42B. AE. No mint name or date. Plate III

The same as 42A, except that the obverse field is enclosed in two intersecting squares, forming an eight pointed star with a dot in each point.

ANS (d=25-26.5 mm., w=10.24 gr.).

43X. AE. No mint name or date.

Coins which are probably of the simple variety like those of nos. 41 and 42, but insufficiently described for further classification.

Markov, <u>Inventarnyi</u>, nos. 30-32, p. 431 (Mushegian's references to these coins, <u>supra</u>, are too vague, thus their inclusion here); <u>Pakhomov</u>, <u>Klady</u>, I, <u>Hll6</u> (one example), <u>Hl24</u> (one example); <u>Pakhomov</u>, <u>Klady</u>, II, <u>H418</u> (one example), <u>H419</u> (one example, "probably Abu Bakr"); <u>H420</u> (five examples); <u>Pakhomov</u>, <u>Klady</u>, IV, <u>Hl144</u>, b) (three examples); <u>Pakhomov</u>, <u>Klady</u>, VII, <u>H1793</u> (two examples), <u>H1795</u> (one example); <u>Pakhomov</u>, <u>Klady</u>, VIII, <u>H1983</u> (one example), <u>H1984</u> (d=21-22 mm., t=approx. 2 mm., w=6.49 gr.).

43Y. AE. No mint name or date.

As 43X, but even less precise, being coins attributable to either Abu Bakr or 'Uzbek.

Pakhomov, Klady, II, H+24 (one example), H+25 (some from 30 examples); Pakhomov, Klady, IV, H110 (98 examples), H1112 (one example), H1113 (one example), H1116 (11 examples), H1144 (one example); Pakhomov, Klady, VII, H1790, no. 2, H1795 (four examples), H1798, nos. 3-5, H1799, nos. 216-282 (67 examples); Pakhomov, Klady, VIII, H1983, nos. 2-11 (10 examples), H1984, no. 2 (w=5.90 gr.); Pakhomov, Klady, IX, H2116, no. 3 (d=18-22 mm., to approx. 1.5 mm., w=4.88 gr.).

The only guide we have for dating the coins nos.

41-43 is the title did , Greatest Atabak,
The lack of a more pretentious title for Abu Bakr probably
indicates a date prior to sultan fughril's death in 590/1194.

Of course provincial mints may have continued to strike these
simple coins for very local usage after this date and in fact
right through to the end of Abu Bakr's reign in 607/1210.
There is also the possibility that they were struck during
Qizl Arslan's reign 582/1186-587/1191 as discussed supra,
under no. 32.

44. AE. No mint name or date.

Obv. (in a linear circle)

طباد Atabak

Greatest أعظم

Abu Bakr.

Margin: trace which Bartholomaei distinguishes as
خرب
; struck.

Rev. (in a linear circle)

مك الأمران Malik of the <u>amirs</u>
(<u>sic</u>) المسس (?)
(<u>sic</u>) موال (?)

Bartholomaei à Soret, RNB, 1861, no. 24, p. 48 (reverse illus. by line drawing, Pl. III, fig. 3

The reading of the last two lines of the reverse was a riddle for Bartholomaei and remains so until now.

45. AV. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Nasir.

Obv. (in a square surrounded by a triple circle the center one made of dots)

The Sultan

Abu Bakr son of Muhammad

Jihan Pahlavan.

Margin: between the square and the first linear circle to the right, a sword representing a

tamgha, (?) .68

Rev. (in a square surrounded by a triple circle the center one composed of dots)

[עונוען There is no god but [Allah].

Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah.

[al-JNasir lidinillah.

Margin: between the square and the first circle at the bottom, a floral design

ANS (d=28.5-30 mm., w=3.65 gr.).

46. AV. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Nesir.

Plate III

Obv.

[Muhammad] is the Messenger of [Allah].

الموظم]. ... Sultan the Sup [reme].

[أبو بكر ؟] [Abū Bakr?) ...

(sic)جہائی بہلوان Jihan Pahlavan

Rev.

[[There is no] god [but Allah].

[a] lone. [He has] no associate.

[al-] Nāsir lidīnillāh.

Com ander of the Faithful.

⁶⁸ Pakhomov confirms the use of a sword as tamgha by the Ildegizids; see reference, supra, "Chap. Two," no. 166.

ANS (note the animal head in the third line of the obverse and what appears to be the Ildegizid tamgha in the fourth line of the obverse)(d=18.5 mm., w=1.54 gr.).

47. AV. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Nasir.
Plate III

OpA.

Margin: further traces to the left

Rev. [Muḥamma]d is the Messenger of [Allāh].

[النام رلدين ا والم [al-Nāṣi]r lidīni [llāh] .

Margin: at top, the decoration.

ANS (d=19.5-20.5 mm., w=1.75 gr.).

These unique coins are of very base gold, worn and thin. The large no. 45 seems to be about twice the weight of the smaller nos. 46 and 47. All three coins are poorly preserved, and carelessly struck. They raise questions and present problems which cannot be solved until more specimens are found to complete the legends and margins, which should contain the date and place of striking.

The largest, no. 45. is also the best preserved. There can be little doubt about the reading of the obverse. Further-

more, though the left side of the coin is worn, there does not seem to be enough room for another word or words after al-Sultan. Therefore, we must conclude that Abu Bakr took the title of sultan clearly to indicate his sovereignty over the lands of the Seljuq Sultanate. If this is the case it should be dated at least after 590/1194, the death of Sultan Tughril, and probably after the death of outlugh Inanj in (?) 592/1196.69 But we know from Juwaini that in 594/1198 the caliph al-Nasir had given the title of Sultan of Iraq, Khorāsan and Turkestan to the Khwarazmshah Takash. 70 The latter died in 595/1200, 71 and, therefore, it is reasonable to assume that Abu Bakr assumed the title sometime after this date or perhaps between 590/1194-594/1198. Unfortunately the literary sources make no mention of this event. If indeed Abu Bakr assumed leadership of all or part of the former Seljuq domain, the striking of gold would be understandable even though the area was in decline. The Seljuqs of Iraq struck golden dinars, but already in the early half of the 6th/12th century the quality of the coinage was very inferior. G.C. Miles underlines this fact in his study on the mint of Rayy.

⁶⁹ Juwain T, trans., J. Boyle, I, p. 307.

^{70 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 312.

^{71 &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 315.

This phenomenon is doubtless in part due to the decentralization of the Seljuq Empire and the continually harassed state of the eastern lands; but perhaps even more to the degeneration of the coinage (for we are no better supplied with Seljuq issues of other Persian mints during this period). Between the last date entered here, 555-556, and the end of the 6th century, Rayy was nominally in the hands of the Seljuqs of 'Iraq, and such specimens of their coinage as have been preserved are so miserably designed and struck that it is not at all surprising the half of the but will be deposited by there is this long lacuna in the history of the Rayy The quantity as well as the quality of the mint. output must have fallen off considerably, for relatively very few of the coins of the 'Iraq Seljuqs have come to light. This degeneration is to me remarkable in view of the superior quality of the artistic products, of pottery at least, at Rayy during this period. Very probably the old gold, the good gold of the earlier Seljuqs and perhaps even of earlier dynasties, continued in use even into the beginning of the Mongol Period. 72

These gold issues indicate further minting of gold in the former Seljuq lands at the very end of the 6th/12th and the beginning of the 7th/13th century. To be sure, the quantity and quality is limited and poor with only these three specimens so far preserved. Thus in conclusion this dinar (no. 45), if we can call it that, is to be dated from the ten year period from the death of the Khwaramzmshah Takash to the end of Abu Bakr's reign, 596/1200-607/1211, less probably to 590/1194-594/1198 as stated above.

⁷² The Numismatic History of Rayy, op.cit., pp. 216-217.

The two smaller gold pieces are much harder to read for their condition is even worse than no. 45. Considering no. 46 first, because it is more legible and better struck, we note the following. In the last line of the obverse the n of Jahan has a spear through it forming what resembles the Ildegizid tamgha. The fourth line of the obverse, if it is indeed a line of inscription and not a floral ornament, is very compressed. There seems to be almost no room for the insertion of letters between the third and fifth lines. However, under the forced condition of having to read something to make sense out of the fifth line, one can defend the reading Abn Bakr to the right of what appears to be an animal head. The head itself might be composed of letters which have melted together from wear. In that case one could imagine the top of the head being the first three letters of Muhammad, and the "chin" being bin, son of, which would give us the logical reading of Abu Bakr b. Muhammad Jihan Pahlavan.

The possibility that this is an earlier issue of Muhammad Jihan Pahlavan himself is ruled out by negative evidence, namely, that Muhammad never employed Jihan Pahlavan on his own coins. 73

⁷³ See supra, nos. 14-22.

There remains a final possibility that the coin is not an issue of Abu Bakr, but of his brother 'Uzbek b. Muhammad Jihan Pahlavan; this will be discussed below.

The last of the three, no. 47, is the least legible and therefore presents the greatest problems. Its weight, style, fabric and texture are very similar to no. 46. Perhaps these conditions compel one to read the fragmentary legends so that they conform to the other two. On the obverse at the beginning of the first visible line there is an u and what looks like a b for a reading of A bu. is followed by three very clear letters, 23, which can be read as Bakr, with the stylized r not attached as it should be. Then there are two very rounded letters, the lower one can be read as a contracted bin and the upper as the first three letters of Muhammad. The line below has an Allah at the end, written sideways, and before it three letters which I read as the din of [al-Nasir li]din. All other areas of the obverse are rubbed smooth, except at the very top a loop is visible which is probably part of the formula of faith. On the reverse at the top is a stylised design; underneath, in the first readable line there is the d of Muhammad, followed by a very clear rasul, Messenger, and the A of Allah. Below are the clear letters \$12, which can be interpreted several ways. The first, as the \underline{r} of

al-Nāṣir, and then <u>lid-</u> of <u>lidīn</u>, with the <u>dīn</u> unclear and very much cramped, followed by the Al- or Allāh. The same line can also be read as the ريك له , he has [no as]sociate. There is the further possibility of reading that line as ['U]zbek, and, of even reading the first line of the obverse as ['Uz]bek son of [Muhammad].

All the reading present difficulties. The legend of the other small gold piece, no. 46, follows the customary pattern of Seljuq of Traq dinars. There is the formula Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah, then the title and name of the ruling sultan and any other name which might be appropriate. The other side contains the full formula of faith, followed by the name and title of the caliph. 74 If we accept the first reading for the last line of the reverse namely al-Nasir lidinillah, then we have the unexpected and highly unusual mention of the caliph on both sides of the coin. The second reading does not fit either, for one selden finds the formulas with "Messenger" and "no associate" on the same side of a coin. The third possibility 'Uzbek, with a forced b. Muhammad out of what is left on the line,

⁷⁴ For a comparison with Great Seljuq coins, G.C. Miles, op.cit., pp. 196-217, may be consulted.

would give an obverse with the name of Abū Bakr and a reverse with 'Uzbek. One might imagine that the brothers got along so well that they struck coins together, but this refutes the literary sources which tell us the contrary. Perhaps a fresh eye looking at these gold issues may solve their riddles; if not, we must wait for more specimens to be found.

In summary it is clear from these gold issues that Abu Bakr and perhaps 'Uzbek made a last try to revive the power and unity of the Iraq sultanate, at least in the northwestern areas, after the death of the last ruler of Seljuq blood at the hands of the Khwarazmshahs. Perhaps these coins represent the final grand sovereign gesture of the atabegs of a great dynasty, for we know that even in their own hereditary lands, Adharbayjan and Arran, the Ildegizids were losing control and mastery. During the reign of Abu Bakr and 'Uzbek, their vassals, the Bishkinids at Ahar and another in Muqan, began striking their own coins. This problem will be discussed later when the corpus of these coins is presented. By the time of 'Uzbek's succession to the head of the Ildegizid domains in 607/1211, the atabegs had much less control of the political events in Southeastern Caucasia and Adharbayjan and almost none in al-Jibal.

⁷⁵ Juwaini informs us that 'Uzbek came to the Khwarazmsha Takash for help after having fled from Abu Bakr in Adharbayjan, trans. Boyle, I, p. 308.

E. Muzaffar al-Din 'Uzbek b. Muhammad Jihan Pahlavan (607/1211-622/1225)

48. AE. No mint name. 609/1212 or 619/1222. With caliph al-Nasir.

Obv. (in a double linear circle)

[طبات] Greatest A[tabak]

ارك بن [محدي 'Uzbek son of [Muhammad].

Margin: trace... کب بر وامر (?)

Rev. (in a double linear circle)

Margin: سنة تسم , year nine

gstrup, <u>Copenhagen Cat.</u>, no. 1547, p. 163 (my reading from a photograph supplied by Copenhagen) (w=8.12 gr.).

and therefore supplied the date (5)90. He was not able to read the obverse, "...dans le champ et au bord, fragments de légende indéchiffrables." On many of these coins the 'U and z of 'Uzbek are incorrectly attached. In general the coins are hard to distinguish from those of Abū Bakr, especially when the obverse side is worn.

Abu Bakr died in 607/1210 and his brother 'Uzbek

took over the leadership of the declining Ildegizid realm.

We do not know if he ruled part of the Ildegizid lands

prior to his brother's death, but this is a possibility.

We are not sure where any of his coins were struck. He

had control of Hamadan which was awarded him in 592/1195

by the Khwarazmshah Takash when 'Uzbek came to him fleeing before

Abū Bakr in Adharbayjan. However, by 614/1217 Hamadan was

in the control of the Khwarazmshah Muhammad. I later towards

the end of his life we find him resident in Tabriz, 621/1224. The best likelihood is that he controlled Ardabil and perhaps

Maragha, which had been acquired by Abū Bakr shortly before

his death. 79

49. AE. No mint name. 618/1221. With caliph al-Nasir.

ملك الأعظم Malik the Greatest

'Uzbek son of Muhammad.

Margin: traces of a legend

⁷⁶ Juwain I, Boyle trans., I, p. 308.

^{77&}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, II, p. 366.

^{78&}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, II, p. 424.

⁷⁹ See supra, the text at n. 18.

Rev.

Margin: the date, not described.

Pakhomov, <u>Klady</u>, VII, Hl799, nos. 81-83, "large coins" (d=21-26, 22-28, 27-28 mm., t=2.5-3.0, 2.5-3.0, 2.0-3.0 mm., w=12.95, 13.65, 12.24 gr.).

Again the place of minting is unknown. In this year the Mongols under Jebe (Yeme) subjugated Tabriz, Marāgha and Naxijawan. While they were in this area the Ildegizids came forward, tendered submission and were in turn rewarded with a letter and an al-tamghā. Bl Juwainī reports that it was Khāmūsh b. Uzbek who came forward, but Rashīd al-Dīn says it was 'Uzbek himself. As for the coins supposedly struck in Adharbayjān by 'Uzbek some three years earlier in the name of sultan Muḥammad Khwārazmshāh, 83 we have no trace.

⁸⁰ See supra, "Chap. Two," n. 88.

⁸¹ Juwain I, p. 148.

⁸²Trans. O.I. Smirnova, I/ii (Moscow, 1952), p. 227; cf., Boyle, <u>Ibid.</u>, n. 29.

⁸³ Juwaini, II, p. 366.

50A. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Nasir

Obv. (in double linear circle)

اعظم العابك Greatest Atabak

'Uzbek son of Muhammad.

Rev. (in double linear circle)

Allāh Allāh

al-Nasir lidin

commander of the Faithful.

Dorn, Nova Supplementa, Cl. XIV, nos. 6, ab (written

(ij)), 6, ac ((ij) and tampha on

reverse), 6, ad, 6, ae (),), 6, af (with

typographical error amr for amir), 6, ag (1c examples, not described because of worn condition), pp. 275-276; Markov, Inventarny, nos. 33 (Ardabil?) 34-38 (not described), p. 432; Østrup, Copenhagen Cat., no. L546, p. 163 (wrongly attributed to Abu Bakr; marking , over a czam on obverse)

(w=8.98gr.); Pakhomov, Klady, VII, H1799, nos. 84-104 (21 examples with tamphs on both obverse and reverse).

50B. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Nasir.

The same as 50A, except that obverse die is stamped on both sides.

Dorn, Nova Supplementa, Cl. XIV, no. 6, aa, p. 275; Pakhomov, Klady, IV, Hill4, no. 83 (this coin cannot be absolutely placed here for Pakhomov indicates it could be one of Abu Bakr as well; there is also the possibility that its obverse may be our reverse, which would offer a new variety, 50C.). 50C. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Nasir.

Obv. same as 50A.

Rev.

الله الله الناصر لدين al-Nasir lidin

al-Nasir lidin

commander of the Faith
ful.

Butak, Resimli, no. 98, p. 84 (illustrated with line drawing and photograph of very poor quality) (now in the collection of the Yapi ve Kredi Bankasi, Istanbul, no. 5/1, in very good condition; d=approx. 25 mm., w=8.30 gr.).

50D. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Nasir.

Obv.

طبات Atābak

Greatest

'Uzbek son of Muḥammad.

Rev.

[a -Na] sir lidIn [Co] mander of the Faithful.

Bartholomaei à Soret, RNB, 1862, no. 59, p. 56. Despite the lack of tamghas, this coin may be of the same variety as 50A, for on the examples from Copenhagen, no. 49 and under 50A, atabak, is written slightly above the a zam and could be interpreted as forming part of a separate line.

51X. AE. No mint name or date.

Coins of 'Uzbek insufficiently described for further classification.

Markov, Inventarnyi, nos. 34-38, p. 432; Pakhomov, Klady, II, H+20 (three examples); Pakhomov, Klady, IV, H1110 (four examples), H1114, nos. 17-28 (II examples with al-Nasir), H1115 (one example with al-Nasir), H1137 (one example); Pakhomov, Klady, VII, H1796 (two examples with al-Nasir), H1798, nos. 1-2, H1801, b (six examples); Pakhomov, Klady, VIII, H1984, no. 3 (d=19-25 mm., t=approx. 2 mm., w=6.89 gr.; trace of a counterstamp), no. 4 (d=21-24 mm., t=approx. 2 mm., w=7.29 gr.), H1985 (eight examples); Pakhomov, Klady, IX, H2116, no. 4 (d=19-23 mm., t=approx. 3.0 mm., w=7.77 gr.).

51Y. AE. No mint name or date.

Coins poorly preserved which can be ascribed to either 'Uzbek or Abu Bakr.

A complete list of these will be found under nos. 34X and 43Y above.

In 621/1224 'Uzbek fled Tabriz before the army of the Khwarazmshah Jalal al-Din, leaving his wife Malika b. Tughril behind. 84 In the next year, 622/1225, 'Uzbek died in the fortress of Alinja in the vicinity of Naxijawan. 85

⁸⁴ Juwaini, trans. Boyle, II, p. 424; Jolal al-Din married Malika.

⁸⁵ Ibid., II, pp. 425-426; on the precise location of the fortress, see n. 11 with reference to Minorsky, Transcaucasica, JA (1930), Section 4, "La forteresse Alindjak," p. 93.

The ruling power of the Ildegizid atabegs had ended. His son Khāmūsh and grandson Nusrat al-Dīn are mentioned in the sources until the 640's/1240's after which they fade into obscurity. The territory of the atabegate was added to the Mongol empire.

52X. AE. No mint name or date.

Ildegizid coins found in the hoards collected by Pakhomov, but not further attributed.

Klady, I, Hll4 (one example), Hl20 (one example, Hl21 (several, irregular), Hl22 (a large group); Klady, II, H420 (23 bits of oxidized metal), H421 number unspecified). H423 (one example with al-Nasir), H436 (several in a Georgian hoard); Klady, IV; Hl098 (one example), Hl109 (13 examples one with al-Nasir), Hl110 (six examples), Hl111 (one example), Hl117 (one with al-Nasir), Hl118 (one example), Hl130 (eight examples, probable), Hl131 (16 examples), Hl134 (two examples); Klady, VII, H1793 (two examples), Hl796 (46 examples, 38 with "atabak"), Hl798, nos. 8-9, Hl801 (one example and five more either of XII-XIII century"); Klady, VIII, H1984, nos. 6-10 (size and weight of nos. 9-10 given); Klady, IX, H2116 (one example, no. 6, with size and weight given).

⁸⁶ See supra, n. 21.

III. CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

The Ildegizids represent an archetypal atabeg dynasty. The progression of Shams al-Din from the mamluk of a Seljuq vizir, to a commander and governor of the sultans, to guardian of a prince of the royal house and, finally, a dyarch of the Seljuq Empire in al-Jibal and Adharbayjan is truly remarkable; yet, it is characteristic of the Seljuq dominated Middle East of the 6th/12th century. The process did not end with the dyarchy. As the numismatic evidence so vividly shows, after the final demise of the Seljuqs in the east, the last Ildegizid atabegs, Abu Bakr and 'Uzbek, assumed the title of Sultan, even though they did not possess the power to enforce its authority. Already the coins of Qizl Arslan struck in the 580's/1180's demonstrated the power and ambition of the atabegs: nos. 26-27 graphically show Qizl's ability to replace the uncooperative sultan Tughril with his more malleable uncle, Sanjar b. Sulayman; Qill even went a step further by declaring himself sultan while Tughril was still alive, and though we are not now fortunate enough to have any numismatic evidence to verify this act, there is reasonable chance that some day we shall possess it.

As has been repeated several times in this study, the literary sources on the Ildegizids are comparatively rich. Unlike the other dynasties in this work, their coins are not necessary for identifying the ruling members of their family nor for the dates of their reigns. However, without the numismatic data certain changes in the power and ambition of the dynasty as reflected in the varying titles used on their coins, would not be as apparent. Furthermore, the prevalence of the mint name Ardabīl indicates that despite their involvement in affairs in al-Jibāl, they regarded Adharbayjān as their personal territory.

Ildegizid relations with the CAbbasid caliphs are often made clear by the mention or lack of mention of their names on the coinage. At least for Shams al-Dīn and Qizl Arslān the omission of the caliph's name reflected a conscious rebuff by the atabeg rather than a careless omission, e.g., nos. 8, 9, 25, 26. Changing attitudes towards the sultan are also expressed in the same way, e.g., nos. 2, 26, 27. The majority of Ildegizid issues also lack any pious Islamic formulas, even the common formula of faith; some of these do not bear the caliph's name and others neither the caliph's nor the sultan's, e.g., 25, 41-43. Such coins clearly reflect the double foreign policy of the

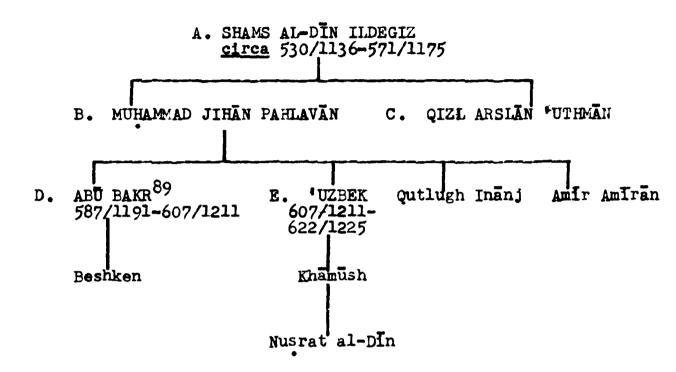
atabegate; on the one hand they were working to obtain and maintain the power of the Islamic sultanate of al-Jibal, on the other to cultivate the Christian population of Arran and Armenia. The praise given to the Ildegizids by some of the Armenian sources (they are twice referred to as philochristians) bears witness to the success of this policy. 87

The inscriptions on the coins and the hoard finds also indicate an accomodating policy in their minting. In northern Arran, along the Kur, and in Shirvan a very irregular, carelessly struck copper coinage was used, while in Dvin and the area of Naxijawan a regular, religiously inoffensive type circulated, e.g., nos. 8-10, 25, 26.88 Unfortunately we do not have any scientific information on hoards around Ardabil or other areas of Adharbayjan now in western Iran; however, future archeological investigations there will most certainly result in new and valuable numismatic data, for our use.

⁸⁷See supra, "Introd.," n. 24 and "Chap. One," n. 73.

⁸⁸ See supra, "Chap. Two," Section II, E and F, especially n. 158.

GENEALOGY OF THE ILDEGIZIDS



Rulers who struck coins are indicated by capitals; the letter before their names refers to the section the corpus assigned to each.

⁸⁹T. Houtsma, "Some Remarks," op.cit., p. 143, without citing his sources say that his full name was Abu Bakr Pishkin, an alternate form of Bishkin/Beshken. The Georgian Chronicle speaks of Beshken the Brave, but as the son of Abu Bakr; trans. M. Brossit, I/1, p. 443, cf., I. Petrushevskii, "Beshkenidy-Pishtegenidy, "op.cit., p. 589, n. 5, and, Minorsky, "Caucasica II/1," op.cit., p. 872. See infra, "Chap. Six," n. 11 for a further discussion of the problem.

CHAPTER SIX

THE BISHKINID MALIKS OF AHAR CORPUS

I. INTRODUCTION

Coins of the Maliks of Ahar were identified in the mid-nineteenth century because of the constant appearance of the city's name on them. Ahar, in Iran to day, has had a continuous existence since medieval times; the title malik was the one assumed by these rulers. Thus associating the city with the title produced the dynasty. The continuous mention of the atabegs Abū Bakr and 'Uzbek on the coinage also led to the logical conclusion that these Maliks were Ildegized vassals. Beyond this nothing was known about the dynasty until 1937 when I.F. Petrushevskii published the first monograph on the Bīshkinīd Maliks of Ahar. In 1951 Minorsky prepared the only other article on them² in which he affirmed Petroshevskii's conclusions, quoted more extensively from the same sources (adding other minor

luBeshkenidy-Pishtegenidy, gruzinskie melikhi Akhara v XII- nach. XIII vv. (Beshkenids-Pishtegenids, the Georgian Maliks of Ahar in the 12th Beginning of the 13th Centuries), op.cit., supra, p. 60, n. 138.

²"The Georgian maliks of Ahar," <u>op.cit.</u>, <u>supra</u>, p.60, n. 139.

³As already stated before, Minorsky docs not once mention Petroshveskii's name or the article.

references), and discussed the origin of the name.

In 614/1217 the Khwarazmshah Muhammad expelled the Ildegizid 'Uzbek from Ispahan. His vassal Nusrat al-Din Mahmud b. Bishkin led the army back to Adharbayjan and by so doing enabled his master 'Uzbek to escape with a small detachment. Shortly after Mahmud was taken prisoner by the Khwarazmians and brought to Hamadan. There the interest of the Shah was aroused by the pair of unusually large earrings which Mahmud was wearing. Nusrat al-Din related that his ancestor (jadd) was captured by the Great Seljuq sultan Alp Arslan while on an expedition to Georgia, and though they were later released, as mamluks of the sultan they were ordered to wear earrings with his name on them. When the Seljuq Empire declined these slaves abandoned their obedience and the external sign of it, the earrings. Only Mahmud's ancestor, who had been converted to Islam, continued to wear them as a token of the benefits of being a Muslim. When the Khwarazmshah heard all of this, he rewarded Musrat al-DIn Mahmud by restoring him his possessions among which were the towns of Ahar and Varavi, and added to them the neighboring

Minorsky, <u>ibid.</u>, p. 868, suggests the campaign of 456/1064, citing Ibn al-Athir, X, pp. 25-28, and, the <u>Georgian Chronicle</u>, trans. Brosset, I/1, p. 327.

Sarah which was at the time in the control of 'Uzbek. Later when the Khwarazmshah Jalal al-Dīn, son of Muhammad, overthrew 'Uzbek in 622/1225, Mahmud produced the document presented to him by the Shah's father and without formality Jalal al-Dīn recognized his claim and treated him with particular sympathy and generosity. Thus Nusrat al-Dīn passed into the service of the conqueror.

Qazwīnī has a much shorter version of the same story.

After Alp Arslān's campaign into Georgia, a number of Georgian princes were taken prisoner. Some of these converted to Islam and among them was Bīshkīn. "Instead of the ring of slavery..., (the sultan) fixed in his ear a horse-shoe, and his progeny similarly have worn large earrings. As a fief (the sultan) gave him the town of Varāvī which is now known as Bishkin." In another place Qazwīnī adds, "the tūmān [a division of Mongol times] of Bīshkīn comprises seven towns, namely: Bīshkīn, Khiyāv, Anād, Arjāq, Ahar, Telega, and

⁵See supra, "Chap. Five," n. 19.

⁶SIrat al-sultan Jalal al-Din, ed. and trans. 0. Houdas, op.cit., text pp. 3, 14, 16-18. Most of the information is to be found on p. 18. The section is a paraphrase of Nasawi with much reliance on Minorsky's version, ibid., p. 868. Nasawi often writes Muhammad for Mahmud. Houdas's trans. must be used with caution, see supra, "Chap. One," n. 40.

⁷ Ta'rīkh-i guzīda, ed. E. Browne, op.cit., p. 441; cf., Minorsky, p. 868, whose translation is used.

Kalaybar. Bishkin [the town] originally bore the name Varavi, but after Bishkin came to be governor there, it was called after his name."

Finally, Yaqut in his Mucjam al-buldan under the entry Ahar says that in circa 608/1212 the town's ruler was an Ibn Bishkin.

From these sources we know of three of these Maliks, the original Bishkin, the father of Mahmud, also Bishkin, and Nusrat al-Din Mahmud himself. We have the name of a fourth member of the dynasty Muhammad, the grandfather of Nusrat, from his father's coins. About Muhammad we know absolutely nothing and about Bishkin b. Muhammad only the information found on his coins. Al-Bundari mentions still another Bishkin (Bishtakin), an amir of Adharbayjan who sought refuge in Ardabil in the year 527/1133 during the civil strife between the sultans Tughril b. Muhammad and his brother Mas ud. There is no further reference to this Bishkin.

There does not exist another scrap of historical

Nuzhat al-qulub, trans. G. Le Strange, p. 85; cf., Minorsky, ibid., p. 869. Le Strange points out that the names have numerous variants in the manuscripts; I have used Minorsky's reading of them.

⁹Ed. Wüstenfeld, op.cit., I, p. 409; cf., Petrushevskii, p. 588.

¹⁰ zubdat al-nusrah, ed. Houtsma, op.cit., p. 165.

information on the Bīshkīnid Maliks of Ahar except the dates on the coins of the last two: Bīshkīn, 591-2-4-7/1194-5-6-8-9; Mahmūd, 609-10-12-13-14-23/1212-3-5-6-7-26.
Both rulers had the title of the Malik of the amīrs, though under Jalāl al-Dīn, Mahmūd took the title of the Just Malik.
There is also a curious and still obscure reference to an Cīzs al-Dīn Abū Nasr...Muhammad on the coins of Bīshkīn, nos. 1-3.

The name BIshkIn was arrived at by Petrushevskii and Minorsky; its origin is the Georgian or perhaps
Armeno-Georgian (to be discussed below) Beshken. This reading should replace the attempted readings by earlier numismatists who tried to see a -tekIn/-tegIn, a Turkic word meaning lord, as the suffix. Thus: Fraehn, Blau and Karabacek - Neschteghin; Soret - Netcheghin; Iane-Poole - Nutshegeen; Markov, Pakhomov, Zambaur - Pishtegin; Galiba - Netishgin; and Østrup - Nitshegin. QazwInI and by implication NasawI make it clear that the original BIshkIn was of Georgian origin. We know from the Georgian Chronicle that a son of Abū Bakr, the Ildegizid atabeg and overlord of BIshkIn, b. Muhammad, was called Beshken (BIshkIn) the Brave, which seems to indicate that the dynasties were related. 11

[&]quot;Béchken, le brave," I/l, p. 443, see supra "Chap. Five," n. 89. K. Chaikin even thought that there was a possibility of identifying this Beshken, son of Abu Bakr, with the Ibn Bishkin mentioned by Yaqut; "Musul manskie dinastii...Il degizidy," op.cit., pp. 36-37; cf., Petrushevskii, p. 589; see also, infra, n. 26.

Minorsky found other allusions to the name, but confused some of the facts in the process. He said the name Bichkin is of Iranian origin, but without stating his reasons. 12 He then cited a Beshken from the Georgian Chronicle, 13 who was killed by the Turks in 512/1118, and another from the same 6th/12th century. 14 Minorsky also mentioned a Pesgen in the 7th/13th century Armenian historian Stephan Orbelian, whomhe placed, surely by inadvertence, in the 9th/15th century. 15 Finally, he referred to the village of Beshkenashen, "built by Beshken," in the 18th century Geography of Georgia by Vakhusht. 16

^{12&}quot;Nasawi confirms that the first comer to Persia was Nusrat al-din's grandfather of whom no coins have come down to us. The actual founder of the principality, to which he gave his name, was Nusrat al-din Mahmud's father Bishkin. His name, which stuck in the memory of the contemporaries, is of Iranian origin and originally must have sounded Beshken as attested by its Georgian form."

Ibid., p. 870; in a note to this statement Minorsky cites a reference to a Beshgen in the 9th/15th century Armenian historian Thomas of Metsop (T'ovma Macop'eci), this being his only justification for the Iranian origin.

¹³Brosset, I/1, p. 360; Minorsky, p. 870.

Janashia, <u>Istoriia Gruzii</u> (1946), p. 244; <u>cf.</u>, Minorsky, <u>ibid</u>.

^{15&}quot;Circa 1483," <u>ibid</u>., but 682/1283 would be more correct, since Orbelian wrote in 696/1297 and died in 703-4/- 1304; see <u>supra</u>, pp. 42-43. The name Pesgen was restored by Brosset, <u>Histoire de la Géorgie</u>, I/1, p. 351, from Pelgene.

¹⁶ Georgian text and trans., M. Brosset, <u>Description</u> géographique de la Géorgie par le <u>Tsarevitch Wakhoucht</u>, (St. Petersburg, 1842), p. 161 and map; cf., Minorsky, p. 871.

In addition the Persian poet Nizami dedicated his Iskandarpz in to Abu Bakr, but apparently later changed this dedication of the second part to Pishkin, who was one and the same as Beshken the Brave, son of Abu Bakr. 17 Also the court panegyrist of the Ildegizids, Zahir al-Din Faryabi, refers to his patron Abu Bakr as the ferocious lion, his majesty Nusrat al-Din Bishkin. 18

The name Besk'en is also found frequently in the Armenian sources. Kirakos Ganjakeçi mentions a Beigen as the 6th/12th century catholicos of Aluank' (Caucasian Albania, i.e., Arran). 19 Also an inscription at Ani dated 611-12/1215 refers to a place (town?) Besk'enakap ("tied or bound to Besk'en). 20 There is a Beshk'en of circa 746/1345

¹⁷Petrushevskii, p. 589, cited ed. Tehran (1324/1906), p. 575; Minorsky, p. 872, ed. Vahid Dastgardi, no dated given, p. 33.

¹⁸ Diwan, ed. (Tehran, 1324/1906/7), p. 334, cited by Petrushevskhii, p. 589, who in turn cites Chaikin, op.cit., p. 37. "Professor E. Berthels, in his recent book Roman ob Alexandre i Yego glavnive versii na Vostoke, Moscow, 1948, pp. 50-52, solves the difficulty by assuming that Bishkin was the name of Musrat al-din himself. I do not know the authority for such a statement;" Minorsky, p. 873, n. 1. The authority is obviously Faryabi.

¹⁹Ed. K.A. Melik'-Ohanjanyan (Erevan, 1961), p.178,181. See also K. Basmadjian, "Chronologie de l'Histoire d'Arménie," Revue de l'Orient Chrétien, XIX (1914), p. 22.

²⁰K. Basmadjian, "Les inscriptions arméniennes d'Ani, de Bagnair et de Marmachen, "Revue de l'Orient Chrétien, XXII-XXVII (Paris, 1920-30), No. 40, pp. 54-61 of the off-print. It is reproduced in H.A. Manandian, The Trade and Cities of Armenia, op.cit., trans. N. Garsoian, pp. 185-186, and, idem, Critical Survey, op.cit., III, pp. 150-151.

in the later Orbelian family of Siunik' and another more famous Beshk'en son of Smbat who died in 842-3/1438. 21

This latter prince is mentioned regularly in 8th/14th century Armenian colophons with the variants Besk'en,

Besk'en, Besgen, Besk'en. 22 Another Pesgen with variant Pesk'en is also referred to in a colophon of 847-8/1444. 23 Mention has already been made of the Besgen in Thomas of Mecop'. 24 The prevalence of this name among the Armenian Georgian Orbelians in Siunik' would lead one to conclude that the original Georgian princes captured by Alp Arslan were probably of mixed Armeno-Georgian origin.

What is more interesting than the Islamization of these Armeno-Georgian princes is their pseudo-Turkification. Pseudo-because though they never adopted Turkic names, they did employ on all of their coins a tribal or family marking, the tamgha. As mentioned previously these semi-heraldic symbols were used exclusively by Turks or Mongols originating from Central Asia. Perhaps by marital ties, 26 or imitation,

²¹See the dynastic table in Step anos Orbelean, trans. Brosset, II (Introductory), p. 182.

²²L.A. Xacikyan, <u>Colophons from XV Century Armenian</u>
<u>Manuscripts</u>, <u>op.cit.</u>, <u>I</u>, index p. 683 under Besk en for a
complete listing and references in the colophons proper.

²³<u>Ibid.</u>, p. 565 and index.

^{24 &}lt;u>supra</u>, n. 11.

²⁵See <u>supra</u>, "Chāp. Two," Section II, f, pp. 123-125.

²⁶Chaikin had suggested that there were ties of marriage

or by pressure, they copied the usage of their Turkic Ildegized overlords.

On the numismatic side the recorded coin hoards only confuse our notions on circulation. Since there has been no systematic reporting of finds in and around Ahar, now in Iran, our information is distorted by the exclusive reliance of hoards from the Boviet Union, i.e., the Caucasian areas. Except for one large hoard, the finds have been limited to a few examples. In 1953, an early 7th/13th century hoard of 543 copper coins was found in Derbend, Dagestan A.S.S.R.: 27 forty-two of the coins were worn beyond identification, of the rest, 284 were Ildegizid, representative of all the atabegs, but mostly Abu Bakr and 'Uzbek; 117 Bishkinids; four of an unidentified vassal of the Ildegizids; seven Shirvanshah; 77 Maliks of Darband; and 13 miscellany, including five of a token dirham type. It is difficult to imagine that Bishkinid coins were more in use in al-Bab than Shirvanshah or Maliks of Darband coins. reasonable explanation is that this was a cache of money, mostly of the regular Ildegizid and the very regular and

between the Ildegizids and the Georgian house already in the time of Muhammad Jihan Pahlavan b. Ildegiz which would of course explain his son's name, Abu Bakr Nusrat al-Din Bishkin, ibid., p. 37; cited by Petrushevskii, p. 589.

^{27&}lt;sub>Pakhomov</sub>, Klady, VII, Hl799, pp. 45-46.

large BIshkinId types, being carried by a merchant or traveler on his way to the north, Russia or Scandinavia. For such a person the irregular copper pieces of the Maliks of Darband and the Shirvanshahs would be of little value, hardly worth transporting and hardly exchangeable as money beyond Caucasia. However, we must wait for reports of Iranian hoards before we can fully discuss the question of the monetary circulation and economic and commercial relations of the Maliks of Ahar with the surrounding areas.

The corpus will be followed by a few observations and a genealogical table.

II. THE CORPUS

A. Bishkin b. Muhammad (circa 591/1194-5 to circa 608/1212)

1. AE. Ahar. 591/1194-5(%). With caliph al-Nasir (575/1180-622/1225) and atabeg Abu Bakr (587/1186-607/1211).

Obv.

The Greatest Atabak

الوبكرين محمد Abū Bakr son of Muhammad.

Malik of the amIrs

المال الأمران

Bishkin son of Muhammad.

Defender of the Commander of the Faithful.

Rev.

There is no god but Allah.

Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah.

God bless him.

al-Nāsir lidīnillāh

الناصرلدين الله

Commander of the Faithful.

Margin "in circular legend the name CIZZ al-DIn Abu Nasr...Muhammad."

Pakhomov, <u>Klady</u>, VII, H1799, nos. 285-288 (4 examples); the date is not certain.

Pakhomov does not give the legends; I have supplied them from the other coins of BIshkIn listed below, all of which seem to have the same obverse and reverse field. With regard to the curious marginal legend on the reverse, all coins of BIshkIn which I have seen have the marginal legends in four segments and never in a really circular fashion. Does Pakhomov also mean to imply that the obverse margin has a circular legend for the date? It is possible that these early coins were struck with such margins, but not likely. The originals will have to be checked.

2. AE. Ahar. 592/1195-6. With caliph al-Nasir and atabeg Abu Bakr.

Obv.

As no. 1.

Rev.

As no. 1.

Pakhomov, <u>Klady</u>, VII, H1799, nos. 280-291 (three examples).

Again Pakhomov does not supply the full legends, but says that the coins are the same as those dated 591/1194-5. Of course the obverse margin containing the date must be different. Once again the name CIzz al-Din Abu Nasr... Muhammad appears on the reverse, but Pakhomov (p. 49) is unable to identify the person.

AE. Ahar. 594/1198. With caliph al-Nasir and atabeg Abu Bakr.

Obv.

The Greatest Atabak ابو بكرين سحمد Abu Bakr son of Muhammad. ملك الأمراء Malik of the amIrs. بیشکین بن محمد Bishkin son of Muhammad نصير أمير المؤمنين Defender of the Commander of the Faithful.

Marginal segments:

ضرب باهر سنة top: struck at Ahar, year

94 . . . أربع وتسعين left:

bottom: Defender of the Commander of the Faithful.
right: بصير أمير المؤمنين tamgha.

Rev.

אוו ווע ווע There is no god but Allah.

Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah.

God bless him.

al-Nasir lidinillah.

Commander of the Faithful.

Marginal segments:

right: عرالدنيا cIzz al-Dunyā

top: الدين, wa'l dIn

left: effaced.

bottom: أمير المؤمنين Commander of the Faithful.

Soret, RN, 1860, pp. 71-72, No. 1 (three examples used in the reading) (reference to the same coins, Pakhomov, Klady, I, Hl24); Markov, Inventarnyi, p. 433, no. 1 (not described).

Soret reads Bishkin as بنتكين, "Netcheghin." He reads a variation on Pakhomov's CIzz al-Din Nasr...Muhammad namely CIzz al-Dunyā wa 'l-Din, but hesitatingly suggests that it is a reference to Bishkin himself. 28

4. AE. (Ahar). (5)9(7)/1201(?). With caliph al-Nasir and atabeg Abu Bakr.

²⁸ Si la lecture des deux segments <u>Izz eddounia oua</u> eddin de l'avers est exacte, je ne saurais à quel autre prince l'attribuer qu'à Netcheghin lui-même; mais alors il se serait donné un double titre, puisque nous le voyons figurer au revers comme appui de l'émir des fidèles." <u>RN</u>, 1860, p. 72.

Opa.

As no. 1.

Rev.

As no. 1.

B.N., M2030 (1898), unpublished.

The coin is in very poor condition with only the first three lines of the obverse readable. There seems to be part of the obverse margin which might be the same as the top segment of no. 3. The notation with the coin indicates the above date, but the reading is doubtful.

5. AE. (Ahar). (5)9X/(11)9(4)-(12)0(3). With caliph al-Nasir and atabeg Abu Bakr.

Opa.

[Ab] [Bakr son of Muhamma[d].

(إ) مملك لا مرا ا... (إ)

(إ) Malik of [t] he amirs A...(?)

[المملك لا مرا الله (إ) Mutshikin (Bishkin) son of Muhammad

[المملك المراليو المنواسين]

Reviver (?) of the Commander of the

Faith[ful] .

حين (٢) امير العو[منين]

Marginal segments:

bottom: نسمین ..., ninety.

Rev.

As no. 1.

Marginal segments: none visible.

Iane-Poole, BM, III, 1877, no. 689, p. 250 (illus.,
Pl. XII).

In the last line of the obverse legend Lane-Poole suggested the reading (?) for بغير , defender. Furthermore, upon examination of the coin at the British Museum only the معين is visible. For Bishkin Lane-Poole read بنتكين "Nutshegeen."

6X. AE. (Ahar). No date. With caliph al-Nasir and Abu Bakr. Plate IV

Obv.

Same as no. 1, but the last line is effaced.

Marginal segments:

top: ضرب باهر سنة , struck at Ahar, year.

right: tempha

Rev. (enclosed in a double circle, the outer one made of dots).

Same as no. 1, but with Q-Nasir for al-Nasir in the fourth line.

Marginal segments: None, but the last line of the
legend appears as though it were the bottom segment.
ANS (d=27-29 mm., w=16.83 gr.).

6Y. AE. (Ahar). No date. With caliph al-Nasir and atabeg

Abu Bakr.

Obv. (in a triple linear circle the middle one formed of dots).

Marginal segments:

right: , tamgha.

Rev.

As no. 1, but with 1-Nasir for al-Nasir.

Marginal segments: none visible.

B.N., no provenance indicated; in very poor condition, unpublished.

7X. AE. (Ahar). No date. With caliph al-Nasir and atabeg

OpA.

Same as no. 1, but with last line illegible.

Marginal segments: lacking.

Rev.

Same as no. 1, except al-din for lidin.

Marginal segments: lacking.

Dorn, Nova Supplementa, vol. I, p. 27, nc. 6, ah. (Bishkin is read "Neschtegin,"

8. AE. (Ahar). No date. With caliph al-Nasir and atabeg

Obv. (in a double linear circle, the inner one made of dots).

As No. 1.

Marginal segments:

right: , tamgha, but facing as in no. 3.

Rev. (in a double circle, the inner one composed of dots).

As no. 1.

Marginal segments: none visible.

østrup, <u>Cat. Copenhagen</u>, p. 163, no. 1548, with references to Lane-Poole, <u>BM</u>, III, p. 250, no. 689, and, Soret, <u>BM</u>, 1860, p. 71, no. 1; (w=16.54 gr.).

The coin is in very poor condition. Østrup made several errors, reading the tampha on the obverse as , ten, which he considered as part of the date; he also read Bishkin as "Nitsegin." Corrections and completed legends have been made from a photograph supplied by the Copenhagen Museum.

9. AE. (Ahar). No date. With caliph al-Nasir and atabeg
Abu Bakr. Plate IV

Obv. (in a double circle, the inner one made of dots).

As no. 1.

Marginal segments:

top: ضرب باهر سنة , struck at Ahar, year

right:

tamgha

Rev. (in a double circle, the inner one made of dots). As no. 1.

Marginal segments:

معلم (۹) top:

left: (9) salial

ANS (d=28-31 mm., w=17.24 gr.).

The coin is very badly struck; the last line of the reverse and the last two of the obverse are missing. Thus far neither George C. Miles nor I have come up with a reasonable reading of the curious reverse segments.

10. AE. (Ahar). No date. With caliph al-Nasir and atabeg Abu Bakr.

Obv.

(۱۰۰ باد) [Ata] bāk the Gr[eatest] من بوبكر المان [A] Bakr...

المان الأمر المان الأمر المان الأمر المان الأمر المان (۱۰۰ لمان (۱۰
Marginal segments: none.

Rev.

As no. 1.

Marginal segments: none

B.N., M2027 (1818) (unpublished).

The coin is in very poor condition. If the word sultan is read correctly, it is curious and could only refer to the Khwarazmshah. 29 Perhaps the last line is to be read , nasīr, which would eliminate the problem.

llx. AE. (Ahar). No date. With the caliph al-Nasir and atabeg Abu Bakr.

These are described as bearing the names BIshkIn, Abu Bakr, the caliph al-Nasir, and the curious CIzz al-DIn Nasr...Muhammad as in nos. 1 and 2. They are placed here because, since the dates are not legible; they may be issues of any and various years.

12X. AE. (Ahar?). No date.

Coins of Bishkin b. Muhammad which are insufficiently described for further classification.

Markov, <u>Inventarnyi</u>, p. 433, nos. 2-6 (probably with Ahar and perhaps dated 594/1198, see discussion below);

²⁹ Either Takash or Muhammad b. Takash; the last Seljuq sultan, Tughril b. Arslanshah, died in 590/1194, see supra, "Chap. Five," n. 17.

Pakhomov, Klady, VII, H1799, nos. 301-325 (25 examples, all in poor condition), H1800, no. la, with Abu Bakr (w=17.27 gr.).

Markov's no. 1 is definitely dated 594/1198, but nos. 2-6 have his characteristic and frustrating description,

"Tozhe - raznykh' matrit_z'," "Also - different die!"

Minorsky, ibid., p. 870, concludes, "one of them...bears the date 594/1198," while Petrushevskii, ibid., p. 592, says,

"NoNo 1-6...all 594 A.H. (1198 A.D.)."

The Bishkin b. Muhammad of these coins reigned from at least as early as 591/1194 to circa 608/1212. In the latter year Yaqut tells us that Ibn Bishkin was the ruler of Ahar. 30 Perhaps our Bishkin was the grand-son of the Bishkin mentioned by Bundari in 527/1133. 31 The gap of some 62 years does not appear excessively long for two generations. Even though Minorsky seems to have rejected this idea, feeling the period was too long and that Bundari's Bishkin was still an earlier link, 32 one must consider the possibility.

We know nothing more about Bishkin. The identity of CIzz al-Din Abu Nasr...Muhammad or CIzz al-Dunya wa 'l-Din

³⁰ See supra, n. 9.

³¹ See <u>supra</u>, n. 10.

³² Minorsky, <u>ibid.</u>, pp. 871-872.

on coins nos. 1-3, llx, remains unknown except for Soret's suggestion that it might be a title applying to Bishkin himself.

B. Mahmud b. Bishkin b. Muhammad (circa 608/1212-623/1226)

13. AE. (Ahar). 609/1212-13(?). With caliph al-Nasir and atabeg 'Uzbek (607/1211-622/1225).

Obv.

The Greatest Atabak

'Uzbek son of Muhammad.

'Uzbek son of Muhammad.

Malik of the amīrs

Nusrat al-Dīn Mahmūd

son of Bīshkīn son of Muhammad.

Marginal segments:

top: نصير أسير Defender of the Commander left: (؟) [of the Faith Hul (?).

Rev.

There is no god but Allah.

Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah.

God bless him.

al-Nasir lidInillah.

Commander of the Faithful.

Marginal segments:

top: (4) ____ nine

left: six hundred

Paris, B.N., E2836 (Southet, Lenoir 1864) unpublished; M. Curiel and I (reluctantly) read 609/1212, but the , nine, could easily be ten, for و عشسر 610/1213.

Previous numismatists such as Soret, Markov, Zambaur and Pakhomov have traditionally assigned the year 607/1211 as the first of Mahmud's reign probably by analogy with his overlord 'Uzbek who became Ildegizid atabeg then. We have no evidence indicating when Bishkin died or when his son began to rule except the report of Yaqut's already referred to, that the son of Bishkin was ruling in the following year.

14A. AE. Ahar. 610/1213-14. With caliph al-Nasir and atabeg 'Uzbek.

Obv.

أتابك الأعظم The Greatest Atabak

اربك بن محمد 'Uzbek son of Muhammad.

Malik of the amirs ملك الأمسرا

نصرة الدين بن محمود Nusrat al-Din Mahmud

> بن بیشکن بن son of Bishkin son of

> > Muhammad. محمد

Marginal_segments:

top: illegible traces.

Rev.

Same as no. 13.

Marginal segments:

right: مرب , struck ...

top: سنة عشسر , year ten

left: مصانة, , and six hundred

Ghālib, Meskūkāt-i Islāmivyeh, p. 143, no. 185 (illust., Pl. VII); Istanbul, Archeological Museum, unpublished, no. 1296 (obverse right segment: بنتمين tamghā, top: traces of a legend; reverse top segment: بنتمين , year ten, left: بنتمين , 600, right: nothing visible) (this may be the same as Ghālib's coin).

14B. AE. Ahar. 610/1213. With caliph al-Nasir and atabeg Uzbek.

Obv.

Same as no. 14A.

Marginal segments:

top: نصير أمير , Defender of the Commander

left: المؤمنين , of the Faithful

right: # , tameha

Rev.

Same as no. 13.

Marginal segments:

right مرب باهسر struck at Ahar

top: مننة ... year

left: عنسر, ten and

bottom: itim, 600.

ANS (d=28-30.5 mm., w=16.76 gr.).

15. AE. Ahar. 612/1215-16. With caliph al-Nasir and atabeg 'Uzbek.

None of the coins of this issue is fully described in the literature, but the obverse must be either like the five line variety of no. 13 or the six line variety of nos. 14A and B. The reverse should be like no. 13.

Dorn, Nova Supplementa, p. 276 with references to Fraehn, Recensio, p. 618, no. 6, a and Bull. de l'acad., III, p. 256 (The coin in question may be the same as Fraehn's no. 6, a, dated 613/1216, see below, with a printing error of 612/1215 for 613/1216 in Dorn); Blau, Odessa, p. 21, no. 244a (reverse top segment indicated: with limit and year two) with references to Friehn, p. 168 (sic, read 618), 6, a, and Dorn, p. 276; Markov, Inventarnyi, p. 433, no. 7; Pakhomov, Klady, VII, H1799, nos. 330-335 (six specimens, Ahar Worn off on the last two); Pakhomov, Klady, VIII, H1988 (d=27.5-29.0 mm., w=16.39 gr., t=2.6-3.0 mm.).

16A. AE. Ahar. 613/1216-17. With caliph al-Nasir and atabeg 102bek. Plate IV

Obv.

Same as no. 13 in five lines.

Marginal segments:

top: نصير أمر , Defender of the Commander

left: المؤسنين , of the Faithful.

right: # , tamgha.

Rev.

Same as no. 13.

Marginal segments:

ri it: ضرب باهـر سنة struck at Ahar, year

top: ثلث عشر thirteen

left: مستمانة , and six hundred.

Soret, RN, 1860, p. 72, nc. 2 (three examples) illus., RN, 1859, Pl. XXII, fig. 6)(see discussion); ANS (obverse left segment worn; reverse right segment worn)(d=27.5-29.5 mm., w=14.93 gr.).

Soret originally read the date as:

623/1226; however, he corrected it to 613/1216 (RNE, 1861, p. 49, n. 2) on the grounds that the caliph al-Nasir, who appears on this coin, died in 622/1225. This really does not suffice as an argument, for on extant coins of Mahmud b. BIshkIn dated 623/1226 with the name of the conquering Khwarazmshah Jalal al-DIn (see infra, nos. 22-24X) the dead caliph al-Nasir's name is still retained. Unfortunately, of the three coins the one used for the illustration, a line drawing, is of no help in the matter. The above details are related because there is reason to accept Soret's original reading of 623/1226 as tenable; Pakhomov has in fact published a similar coin, for a discussion of which see below, no. 24X.

16B. AE. Ahar. 613/1216-17. With caliph al-Nasir and atabeg 'Uzbek.

Obv.

Field and marginal segments same as no. 16A.

Rev.

Same as no. 13.

Marginal segments:

right: سنة ثلاث , year three

top: عشر, ten

Soret, RN, 1860, p. 72, no. 3 (originally read as 623/1226, but corrected as above, RNB, 1861, p. 49, n. 2).

16C. AE. Ahar. 613/1216-17. With caliph al-Nasir and atabeg 'Uzbek.

Obv.

Same as no. 14A, six lines.

Marginal segments:

top: نصير أمير , Defender of the Commander.

left: العُومنين , of the Faithful.

right: † , tamghā.

Rev.

Same as no. 13.

Marginal segments: Same as no. 16A.

Berlin, Münzkabinett, no. 3, access, no. 455/1881, unpublished (w=16.39 gr.) (on obverse tamgha to right effaced; reverse left segment effaced); cast in ANS; ANS, observe left segment effaced (d=28.5-30 mm., w= 15.9 gr.).

16D. AE. Ahar. 613/1216-17. With caliph al-Nasir and aubeg 'Uzbek.

Obv.

Same as no. 14A, six lines.

Marginal segments: Same as no. 16C.

Rev.

اله الا الله ... god but Allah.

سعد رسول الله Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah.

(؟) صلى الله عليه وسلم God bless him and peace (be upon him'

al-Nāṣir lidinillāh.

Commander of the Faithful.

Marginal segments: Same as no. 16C.

Fraehn, Recensio, p. 618, no. 6,a (no obverse segments given; reverse segments show only part of the right and top); Karabaceck, WMM, 1868, pp. 70-71 (all segments indicated, but not direction of tampha).

Fraehn wrongly attributed the coin to the Ildegizid atabeg 'Uzbek; Dorn, Nova Supplementa, p. 276, corrected the attribution. Fraehn also read (?) (I), al-malik, for Lti, atabak, in the first line of the obverse.

Dorn failed to correct this error, but Karabacek did, ibid.

Unfortunately, despite Dorn's correction, Karabaceck followed Fraehn's error and attributed the coin to the atabeg 'Uzbek.

Though the addition of wa salam, "and peace (be upon him)," in the third line of the reverse is quite interesting, I would guess that both Fraehn and Karabaceck read more than really was there.

16X. AE. Ahar. 613/1216-17. With caliph al-Nasir and atabeg 'Uzbek.

There is no description of the coin beyond the names of the principles.

Pakhomov, Klady, VII, H1799, nos. 336-344 (nine specimens; only on no. 336 is the mint Ahar readable).

17. AE. Ahar. 614/1217-18. With caliph al-Nasir and atabeg 'Uzbek.

Obv.

Same as no. 14A, six lines.

Marginal segments:

right: + , tampha.

Rev.

Same as no. 13.

Marginal segments:

right: ضرب باهر سنة , struck at Ahar, year

top: أربع عشير , four teen

left: وستمانة , and six hundred.

Bartholomaei à Soret, RNB, 1861, p. 49, no. 26 (illus., Pl. III, fig. 4, a line drawing) (with reference to Fraehn, Recensio, p. 618), cf., Pakhomov, Klady, I, Hl24.

In the description the date is printed in error as 514 (sic; read 614). This typographical mistake is curiously unexpectedly continued by Pakhomov, Klady, I, H124, p. 53.

18. AE. Ahar. 616/1219(?). With caliph al-Nasir and atabeg 'Uzbek.

Obv.

Same as either no. 13 or no. 14A, five or six lines.

Marginal segments: tamgha, to the right.

Rev.

Same as no. 13.

Marginal segments:

top: عشر ، ، ، ، sixteen (?)

left: , and six hundred.

Paris, B.N., unpublished, M2028.

The notation in the box is marked 616/1219. Upon inspection of this coin the top reverse segment was not at all clear. My inclination was to read, ثلث عشر, thirteen, for 613/1216, or, بنائف عشر year ten, for 610/-1213; it may have to be rejected as an issue of 616/1219.

According to Nasawi in 614/1217 Mahmud was captured on his way back from Ispahan by the Khwarazmshah Muhammad, but was later released and granted his former fief. 33 The numismatic evidence underlines the events of that year. Up to 613/1216-17 there is a steady and comparatively heavy minting by Mahmud, but after that there is a sharp decline, almost a stop. For 614/1217 we have the single specimen of Bartholomaei. If we reject no. 18 from the Bibliotheque Nationale, very doubtfully attributed to 616/1219, we have no record of a new minting for nine years until 623/1226. Of course it is always possible that coins were minted in those years without dates or that they have not come down to us. However, barring those possibilities, it would appear that economic and political conditions were so unsteady and uncertain that a new minting was impossible.

19X. AE. (Ahar). 61X/1213-1222. With caliph al-Nasir and atabeg 'Uzbek.

The coin is not further described.

Pakhomov, Klady, VII, H1799, no. 361.

20. AE. (Ahar?). 623/1226. With caliph al-Nasir and atabeg *Uzbek.

³³ See supra, n. 6 and the text there.

Neither the obverse or reverse field is described, but the inference is that it is quite the same as general type above.

Marginal segments: obverse completely worn; reverse, right: الله (sic for الله), year three top:

Pakhomov, Klady, VII, H1799, nos. 345-347 (three examples); no. 345 has only الله (sic, read الله), three, preserved on the right segment; nos. 346-347 have on the right segment, "in the year three,))،

If, as it seems, the date is read correctly the coin is very interesting. Two of the rulers mentioned on the coin are already dead and an actual ruler is not mentioned. The caliph al-Nāsir died in Ramadān/September, 622/1225³⁴ and 'Uzbek in the same year.³⁵ In that same year Jalāl al-Dīn had already taken Tabriz and Naxijawan.³⁶ How then are we to account for the striking of these coins? There are issues of the same year, 623/1226, which were struck by Mahmūd in the name of Jalāl al-Dīn, and without 'Uzbek. Pakhomov suggests it could simply be the negligence of the minters. "less

³⁴ Zambaur, Manuel, p. 5.

³⁵ Juwaini, trans. J. Boyle, II, pp. 424, cf., supra, "Chap. Five," n. 19.

³⁶ Ibid.

likely it is the deliberate action of the supporters of the overthrown atabeg, not wishing to acknowledge the authority of the conqueror."³⁷ Neither notion is very likely.

Negligence could hardly explain the cutting of a die with the year 623/1226, especially since we have no other coins dated in the 620's/1220's. The suggestion that it could be an act of defiance must be rejected on the grounds of the immediate acceptance by Jalal al-Din of Mahmud's sovereignty over the lands around Ahar. The contrary would seem to be true, namely, that Mahmud was waiting for the overthrow of his overlord 'Uzbek by the Khwarazmshāh.³⁸

There is a third possibility; perhaps the coins are really issues of 613/1216 mistakenly read. A similar mistake was made by no less an authority than Soret, who was confronted with the same set of improbable facts. He changed his opinion from 623/1226 to 613/1216.39 I have myself mistakenly read بعثر , twenty, for بعثر , ten, on a specimen of 613/1216 in the American Numismatic Society collection. Pakhomov's coins do introduce a new element, the بعثر , "in," which appears before the word year. This does not appear in any of the other coins of

^{37&}lt;sub>Pakhomov</sub>, <u>Klady</u>, VII, H1799, p. 50.

³⁸ See supra, n. 6 and the text there.

³⁹ See supra, under coin no. 16A.

Mahmud; it could also be a mistaken reading for the , of the often found , struck at Ahar, year. Until we find more coins or new historical information the questions raised by these coins must remain unanswered.

21A. AE. (Ahar). 6XX/12XX. With caliph al-Masir and atabeg 'Uzbek.

Same as no. 13, five lines.

Marginal segments:

obv. left: المؤسنين , the Faithful.

rev. right: مستمانة , six hundred.

B. Zygman collection, New York (d=26.5-28.5 mm., w=15.79 gr.).

21B. AE. (Ahar). (6)XX/(12)XX. With caliph al-Masir and atabeg 'Uzbek.

Same as no. 13, five lines.

Lane Poole, BM, III, 1877, p. 250, no. 690 (first line of obverse is read(al-malik for atabak, continuing the error of Fraehn and Karabacek, cf., sup.a under no. 16B)(all segments worn).

21C. (Ahar). (6)XX/(12)XX. With caliph al-Wasir and atabeg 'Uzbek.

Same as 14A, six lines.

Ghālib, Meskūkāt-i Islāmiyyeh, p. 144, no. 186 (segments worn smooth), no. 187 (obverse segments, top: nasir amīr, Defender of the Commander: left: al-mu'mimin, of the Faithful); Istanbul, Archeological Museum, unnumbered,

unpublished(?), obverse right segment, tangha; reverse right segment duribe, struck) (possibly the same coin as Ghalib no. 186); Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, access. Tehran 1956, unpublished (very poor condition, no margins visible); Paris, B.N., M 2036 (unpublished) (obverse segments: tangha on the right and al-mu'mingin on the left; reverse segment: to the right duriba bi... struck at (Ahar); AMS, (d=26-28.5 mm., w=16.48 gr.) (part of tangha on obverse right; bi-ther same, at Ahar the year, on reverse right)(d=26-28.5 mm., w=16.48 gr.).

21x. AR. Ahar. 6xx/12xx. Probably with caliph al-Masir and atabeg 'Usbek on all.

These coins are either not fully described or we in such poor condition that it is impossible to distinguish whether the obverses are of the five or six line variety.

Blau, Odessa, p. 21, no. 244b (badly worn); Markov, Inventarnyi, pp. 433-434, nos. 8-17 (10 examples); Pakhomov, Klady, IV, Hl108 (2 examples); Pakhomov, Klady, VII, Hl799, nos. 348-353 (Ahar visible), nos. 362-382, nos. 383 (Ahar visible), no. 384 (in all 29 examples); Pakhomov, Klady, VII, Hl800 (2 examples; w=14.93, 16.09 gr.); Berlin, Münshabinett, unpublished, no. 2, access. no. 153/1880 (w=16.40 gr.), no. 4, access. no. 154/1880 (w=16.00 gr.), no. 7, access. no. 454/1881 (16.91 gr.) (right segment reverse: daraba bi-Ahar sane, struck at Ahar the year (3 speciment, casts in ANS); Paris, B.W., M 2029 Guillemin 1898, unpublished (obverse top segment; nasir amir, Defender of the Commander); ANS, (d=24.5-30.0 mm., w=16.82 gr.; in poor condition).

22. AB. Ahar. 623/1226. With caliph al-Masir and the Khwarazmshah Jalal al-Din (617/1220-628/1231). Plate IV

OpA.

The Greatest Sultan السلطان الأعظم منكبرنى بن MMKERNY 40 son of

Jalal al-Din's personal name as it appears on the coins is MMKBRNY. The pronunciation remains uncertain.

المادل محمد الملك Muhammad. The Malik
the Just Mahmud
son of Bishkin son of
Muhammad.

Marginal segments:

بعيراميز Defender of the Commander left: النومنين of the Faithful.

right: خميراميز ,tampha.41

Rev.

There is no god but Allah.

Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah,

God bless him.

al-Masir lidinillah

Commander of the Faithful.

Forms such as Manguberti are derived, according to Boyle, from an etymology first proposed by d'Ohsson from Turkic Mengü in the sense "Eternal (God)" and birti (for birdi), "(he) gave," but this etymology is now discredited, he says; J.A. Boyle, "Dialal al-Din Khwarazm-abah," El2. However, the same author in another place says, "It appears to be derived from the Turkish meng 'mole' and burum or burin 'nose' and so to mean 'the man with a mole on his nose'." See idem, trans. of Juwaini, op.cit., II, p. 434, n. 31, in which Boyle follows the usage of M. Qazvini in his edition of Juwaini, The Ta'rikh-i-Jahan-Gusha, GMS, II (London, 1916), pp. 284-292. Most recently Cl. Cahen, Pre-Ottoman Turkey (London, 1968), p. 127 ff., uses Mangubertl.

The taugha on this issue appears slightly different than on other issues of Mahmud; the three little prongs seem to be missing or to have merged into a dot.

Marginal segments:

right: in or at all a, in or at Alhar,

year three

top: عشرين , twenty

and six hundred.

Soret, RN, 1860, p. 73, no. 4 (illus., line drawing of reverse only, RN, 1859, Pl. XXII, fig. 7) (obverse segment only taught to right; reverse, sittama'ia, 6XX); Markov, Enventarnyi, p. 433, no. 18 "Ahar, 6(2)3") and possibly nos. 19-22; Strup, Cat. Copenhagen, pp. 163-164, no. 1549 (obverse segment only taught on right; reverse either fi sana thelatha, in the year three, or, bi-sher sana thelatha, at ahar the year three, or, bi-sher sana thelatha, at ahar the year three, pp. 163-164, romander from a photograph of the coin) (w=18.45 gr.); Pakhomov, Klady, VII, H1799, nos. 385-394 (ten examples with Ahar worn on all) (no.385 date 62(3), no. 386 date (6)2(3), nos. 387-8 date 6(23), no. 389-394 all dates worn); Pakhomov, Klady, VIII, H1988, one example, worn (d=30-32 mm., w=16.60 gr., t=2.0-2.5 mm.); Paris, B.H., unpublished, M2031 (Guillemin) 1898 (obverse segment on left al-un*minin, the Faithful; reverse, traces at top and right); AMS, two examples, no. 12 (obverse: field in double linear circle, the outer one, twice the thickness of the inner, top segment, amir pasir, "Defender of the Commander; reverse field has did for lidin) (d=28-31 mm., w=14.77 gr.), no. 13 (reverse field in double linear circle like no. 12 obverse, badly worn) (d=27-30 mm., w=14.90 gr.).

23. AE. Ahar. 623/1226. With caliph al-Masir and the Khwarazushah Jalal al-Din.

OpA.

The Greatest Sultan

MIKERNY son of

the sultan Muhamad.

The Just Malik

Mahmud son of Bishkin

بن محمد son of Muhammad.

Marginal segments:

top: [نصير أمير] , [Defender of the Commander]

left: , of the Faithful.

right: (?) , tamghā. (?)

ReY.

Same as no. 22.

Marginal segments:

right: باهر (؟) سنة ثلثة , Ahar, year three

top: [عشرين] , [twenty]

.[and six hundred], [وستمائة]

Markov, <u>Inventarnyi</u>, p. 434, no. 23 (place here on basis of his indication "variant"); Pakhomov, <u>Klady</u>, VII, H1799, nos. 395-401 (seven examples), no. 395 (with Ahar and full date); 396 (Ahar and 6(23)), no. 397 (only 62(3), no. 398 (only (6)2(3); no. 399 (only 6(23)), nos. 400-401) (neither mint nor date); Paris, B.W., unpublished, E.2835 (Souchet, Lenoir 1864) (only obverse left segment, <u>al-mu*minin</u>, the Faithful, visible).

24X. AE. (Ahar ?)(623/1226 ?)

Coins of Mahmud b. Bishkin with the Khwarazmshah Jalal al-Bin, probably on type no. 22 or no. 23 but insufficently described for further classification.

Markov, <u>Inventarnvi</u>, pp. 433-434, nos. 19-22 (four examples, probably like no. 23); Pakhomov, <u>Klady</u>, VII, H1800, under no. 1 one example (w=16.15 gr.).

In 622/1225 Jalal al-Din overthrew the Ildegizid

'Usbek; on 17 Rajab/25 July he entered Tabriz. Later in Rabi^C I/March, 623/1226, he captured Tiflis. 142 Possibly before his march against the Georgians, Mahmud gave obedience to the Khwarasmshah and was reconfirmed in his fief at Ahar as related by Masawi. 143 These coins were surely struck to honor this occasion. Whether the mentioning of the caliph al-Masir's name was out of ignorance of his death or because Mahmud or the Khwarazmshah did not wish to recognize his successor, al-Zahir, who only reigned for a short time from Ramadan/September, 622/1225 to Rajab/June, 623/1226, 114 is not certain. Some of these coins could have even been struck in late 623/1226 in which case al-Mustansir would have been caliph.

of the Maliks of Ahar. Did they stop striking coins after 623/1226? Or did they just keep using the same date? If they stopped minting, why? We do not know; there is no further information in the sources. Jalal al-Dīn remained very active in the region until his death in 628/1231. 45

⁴² Juwaini, trans. Boyle, II, pp. 431-432.

⁴³ see supra, n. 6.

Zambaur, Manuel, p. 5.

⁴⁵ See supra, "Chap. Two," n. 89 and text there.

of these five years remains a mystery. It has been suggested that perhaps qualifies passage in the Tatrikh-i-gualda implies that the descendants of the Rishkimid Maliks of Ahar continued to exhibit their large earrings even in Mongol times, i.e., that remnants of the dynasty survived. 46

25%. AB. (Abar?).

Bishkinid coins insufficiently described for further classification.

Pakhomov, Klady, VII, H1800, under no. 1 (five examples, one with date (6))3.

III. CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

The coinage of these vassal Maliks clearly demonstrates the decline of the Ildegizid state at the end of the 6th/12th century. The atabegs Abū Bakr and 'Uzbek were apparently unable to prevent the striking of coins, a symbol of sovereignty, by this dynasty on their home territory of Adharbayjan, so near to the capital cities of Ardabil and Tabris. The Bishkinids must have represented every important

Minorsky, ibid., p. 874. The Ta'rīkh-i gusīda was written in 730/1330; we know from the same author's Mushat al-gulub, trans. Le Strange, p. 85, that the original lands of the Bishkinids were kept together as the tumān of Pishkin/Bishkin during the Mongol occupation.

element in the atabeg state. Since Mahmud b. Bishkin appears to have been commander of the army under 'Uzbek as implied by Masawi in his telling of the events of 614/1217, It is quite possible that these vassals could have obtained the power of the atabegate in the first quarter of the 7th/13th century, just as the Ildegizids themselves took control of the sultanate in the previous century.

regularity, indicate that the Bishkinid state was relatively prospercus. All issues are dated and show the place of minting; they belong to the token dirham type of copper coins minted in eastern Anatolia and northern Mesopotamia during the 6th/12th century. Townercial and economic relations of the Maliks of Ahar must have been directed toward these latter areas rather than the traditional areas exploited by their overlords: Shirvan, Arran and Maqan. However, the lack of archeological data from Turkey and Iran make it impossible to be authoritative on this question. The excavations at the Armenian city of Dwin, about 125 miles to the northwest, did not turn up a single coin of this dynasty, although close to 400 Ildegizid coppers were found there. As with every other dynasty treated in

⁴⁷ See gupra, "Chap. Two," Section II, D, pp. 115-118.

this corpus, the Maliks of Ahar inconspicuously disappear, leaving no trace in the pages of later histories.

GREEALOGY OF THE BISHKINID MALIKS OF AHAR

Bishkin (I)

Enfeoffed by sultan alp Arslan in circa 456/1064: Hasawi, p. 18, Qaswini, farikh-1 guzida, p. 441.

a gap of unknown generations

Bishkin (II)

Sought refuge in Ardabil in 527/1133;
Bumdari, p. 165.

perhaps a gap

Muhammad

Sometime before 591/1193-4: from the coins of his son Bishkin (III).

A. Bishkik (III) From circa 591/1193-4 to 599/1203-608/1212: Yaqut, I, p. 409 and from his coins.

B. MAHMUD

From 599/1203-608/1212 to circa 623/1226: Yaqut, I, p. 409 and from his coins.

The table is tentative in its earlier segment. The rulers who struck coins are indicated by capital letters; the letter before their names refers to a section in the corpus. The justification for the reign of each ruler is given after the date.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CORPUS OF AN UNIDENTIFIED ILDEGIZID VASSAL

1. INTRODUCTION

The coins of this dynasty, or perhaps better, minting authority, since only a single ruler is known, are included in this study not because the numismatic evidence is of historical importance, but almost as an appendix to confirm some general conclusions already arrived at about the economy and history of southeastern Caucasia and Adharbayjan in the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries. They are all small, irregularly struck copper. apparently lacking the place of striking and date: this information may have been on the original dies, but the consistently small planchets used for these coins have resulted in circular margins which are either completely lacking or so partial that they cannot be deciphered. On the obverse is the name of the unidentified ruler, ...kin(?) b. Muhammad with an illegible circular marginal legend. The reverse bears the names of the caliph al-Masir and the Ildegizid atabeg Abu Bakr.

Throughout this work the term fals, fulus, has been avoided for the designation of this coinage. In a period and area where neither dirhams nor dinars were struck, copper coins were used as a substitute. We have already mentioned the so-called token dirhams and "barbaric" dinars; see supra, "Chap. Two," Section II, D, esp. nn. 146-149.

These coins were first published in the 1860's by F. Soret and A. Bartholomaei, but the conjunction of the names Abū Bakr and al-Māsir and the clear "-kīn" b. Muhammad led to their wrong attribution to Bīshkīn b. Muhammad, the Malik of Ahar. In the course of the research for the Bīshkinīd corpus, it became clear that no matter how badly these coins were struck, the name on the obverse could not be read Bīshkīn. The obvious conclusion was that they represented the coins of a minor independent ruler, in a wassal status to the Ildegisids, who probably controlled one of the larger towns of southeastern Caucasia; E.A. Pakhomov arrived at the same conclusion in 1957.3

On the coins the <u>-kin</u> is quite clear, though the last letter may be a <u>d</u>, <u>dh</u>, <u>r</u>, or <u>z</u> for <u>-kid</u>, <u>-kidh</u>, <u>-kir</u>, or <u>-kiz</u>. Visible on some specimens is what looks like an <u>accent aigu</u> above the syllable. The <u>k</u> could also be pronounced <u>g</u> for <u>-gin</u>, <u>-gir</u>, etc. The first part of the name presents greater difficulties. It is formed of two letter, the first of which can be <u>b</u>, <u>t</u>, <u>th</u>, <u>n</u>, or <u>y</u>. The second is either <u>d</u>, <u>dh</u>, <u>r</u>, <u>z</u>, <u>k</u>, <u>l</u>, or <u>n</u>; on the type no.lA in the American Munismatic Society it looks most like <u>k</u> or <u>l</u>, on the Berlin specimen, no. lB, like <u>r</u> or <u>d</u>. Pakhomov suggested B.rkin/B.rgin and

²RM, 1860, pp. 70-71, no. 6, and, RMB, 1861, p. 49, no. 25 respectively.

³klady, VII, H1799, pp. 51-52.

Norkin/Norgin, but Bolkin, Bodkin, Yodgin, Yorkin, Torkin are among the more reasonable of the numerous possibilities. The inclination has been to look for a Turkic type name with the ending -kin or -tekin, but the search for a likely candidate should not be limited in this way, for just as Beshken became Bishkin, so too some Iranian name may be behind these enignatic letters.

The coins themselves, though poorly and carelessly struck pieces of copper, smaller than the dies employed for the striking, are near uniform in size and weight. Some of the coins directly examined appear to have been clipped to adjust them to an approximate standard. Though the dozen or so specimens, the weights of which are recorded, vary from 4.11 to 7.87 grams, both the average and median is a little more than 6 grams. Their diameters are seldom larger than 20 or smaller than 15 millimeters. Therefore, they are of the hybrid type, in between regular and irregularly struck copper, similar to certain Ildegisid issues which circulated in the numismatically neutral area of northeastern Arran especially along the south bank of the River Kur. 5
Beside the five pieces found in the Derbend hoard discussed

⁴ Ibid., p. 51.

⁵See <u>supra</u>, "Chap. Two," p. 121, n. 157.

earlier, 6 most specimens have been found in or near the Muquan Steppe, that is from the triangular area formed by the confluence of the Kur and Araxes Rivers extending due east to the shores of the Caspian Sea. The cities of Baylaquan (west of the Araxes in Arran proper) and Kabali would be likely places for these coins to have been minted.

They had to have been struck during the years of Abu Bakr's atabegate, 587/1191-607/1211, and like the Bishkinid coinage, which started to appear in the 590's/-1190's, 7 they expose the inability of the weakened Ildegizid state to prevent local rulers in their own provinces of Arran and Adharbayjan from issuing their own money.

The eventual fate of this Ildegizid vassal is of course unknown. He probably stopped minting coins around the very end of the 6th/12th century, about the same time as the Maliks of Darband. The Shirvanshah expansionist policy which resulted in the acquisition of Darband, in the first quarter of the 7th/13th century, seems also to have brought southern areas, including Muqan, under the control of Shirvan. This vassal of the atabeg Abu Bakr was probably absorbed by its northern neighbors.

⁶ rlady, VII, H1799; see supra, "Chap. Six," n. 26 and text there for its composition.

⁷See supra, loc. cit., coins nos. 1-5.

See supra, "Chap. Two," p. 99, n. 93.

II. THE CORPUS

.kin(7) b. Muhammad (sometime during 587/1191-607/1211)

1A. AB. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Masir (575/1180-622/1225) and Ildegisid atabeg Abu Bakr (587/1191-607/1211). Plate V

Obv. (in a single linear circle)

رج الملا ، . المركن المركن المركن المركن المركز
بن محمد son of Muhammad.

Margin: in a circular margin, the indecipherable letters (?) ... لامل والله (?)

Rev.

الناصرلدين al-Māṣir lidin
امير النومنين Commander of the Faithful.

The Greatest Atābak
ابو بكر بن محمد Abū Bakr son of Muḥammad.

Margin: There is no sign of any.

Bartholomaei à Soret, RMB, 1861, p. 49, no. 25 (three examples, illegible traces in the obverse margin); AMS, the indicated obverse marginal legend is from this coin (d=19-20 mm., w=6.56 gr.).

Bartholomaei attributed the issue to the Malik of
Ahar "Netchekin" (Bishkin) b. Muhammad. This is impossible
as the extremely clear ANS specimen indicates.

1B. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Nasir and atabeg Abu Bakr. Plate V

Obv. (in a double linear circle)

The same two line legend as no. 1A.

Margin: indecipherable letters.

Rey.

Same as no. 1A.

Soret, RM, 1860, pp. 70-71, no. 6 (misattributed to the atabeg 'Uzbek b. Muhammad, but later changed, again incorrectly, to "Netchekin" (Bishkin) b. Muhammad, RNB, 1864, pp. 56-57, n. 1)(Soret read "Pahlavan" in the margin); Pakhomov, Klady, VII, H1799, nos. 403-404 (w=5.52, 6.10 gr.); Berlin, Munzkabinett, unpublished, no. 13, access. Gagarin 320/1885 (obverse very clear, ..., reverse worn)(w=6.45 gr., cast in the ANS); ANS, two examples (no. 1, obverse has the marking above Muhammad and fragments of a marginal obverse legend, % المناسفة (?); the reverse is badly struck)(no.2, obverse margin has fragmentary legend, ..., (?)(d=16-19, 13-19 mm., w=4.18, 4.35 gr.).

Soret's reading of Pahlavan is quite acceptable as part of the name of Abu Bakr b. Muhammad Jihan Pahlavan. A case could be made for reading Jihan Pahlavan on the ANS specimens.

2X. AE. No mint name or date. With caliph al-Masir and atabeg...b. Muhammad Jihan Pahlavan.

Opa.

Same as no. 1A.

Margin: illegible.

Rev.

"On the preserved part the usual title of the Ildegizids of the end of the (6th)/12th beginning of the (7th)/13th centuries: ... Iihan Pahlavan..."

Pakhomov, Klady, VII, H1799, no. 402 (w=7.87 gr.).

Since Pakhomov found these specific words on the reverse of this coin, it must be of a different issue. It is possible that nos. 14 and B had a fifth line in the reverse legund which has not been preserved because the planchets were too small to receive the full impression of the die.

Of course Jihan Pahlavan could be a title assumed by Abu Bakr or his brother 'Usbek, but more reasonably it is part of their father's name: Muhammad Jihan Pahlavan b. Ildegiz. Since the name of the atabeg in question is worn off there is the very remote possibility that it was 'Usbek instead of Abu Bakr; many of their own issues are indistinguishable when worn, e.g., under no. 39% of the Ildegizid Corpus.

3X. AE. Ho mint name or date.

Coins of the unidentified Ildegizid vassal insufficiently described for further classification.

Pakhomov, Klady, II, H426, the obverse field was read as " (1 two found near Baku); Pakhomov, Klady, IV, Hilli, one example, worn and not attributed (d=14.0-17.5 mm., found near Baylaqan); Pakhomov, Klady, VII, H1799, no. 405, only "Muhammad" preserved (d=24.0-17.5 mm., t=approx. 3 mm., w=5:86 gr.) (Pakhomov, ibid., p. 51, mentions the weight

of three others in various collections (?) as w=4.11, 5.55, 7.04 gr., and together with those in H1799 an average weight of approx. 6.03 gr. is obtained.), H1801, no. 169 "unattributed size., with the names ...kin b. Muhammad and caliph wal-Nasir." another is mentioned under the same hoard, p. 59 (found at Orenkale, the site of the ancient Maylaqan); Pakhomov, "Monety iz raskopok 1959-1960 kgg. v kreposti Kabaly (Coins from the 1959-1960 Excentration in the Ruins of the Kabali Fortress), "Material, Kul'tur, Azerbaidzhana, V (1964), p. 183, (obverse completely worn, reverse "/Atabak/Abu Bakr/")(d=approx. 15.0-17.0 mm. on a piece of metal 13.5 by 20.0 mm., t=3.5-4.0 mm. w=6.75 gr.).

The planchets of the coins of this dynasty were probably cast from bevelled moulds: of about 20 m. diameter, with a striking surface of 15-17 mm.; the dies themselves are consistently larger.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Southeastern Caucasia and Adharbayjan formed a separate and distinctive entity in a remote frontier region of the Islamic empire during the 6th/12th and early 7th/13th centuries. Protected on the north by the Caucasus and the east by the Caspian Sea, the area was exposed to the influence of the Christian Kingdom of Georgia in the northwest and the Ildegizid atabegate in the southeast. Of its major cities only those along the Araxes River or south of it had active contact with Anatolia, northem Mesopotamia and al-Jibal. Arran, in its broadest meaning of the territory between the Araxes and the Kur Rivers, engaged in limited commercial activities with these peripheral cities, as well as with the Georgians and the Ildegizids. The latter states were involved in a major political and military struggle during these centuries. The battle field was Arran; the prize was the control of the main commercial centers of mixed Armenian and Muslim population: Ani, Dvin, Naxijawan and Ganja.

North of the Kur was the economically and politically isolated core of this Caucasian complex; its two components were Shirvan and Darband. The latter was continually threatened and finally absorbed by the former at the end of the 6th/12th century. Muqan, the steppe area east of the Araxes and south of its confluence with the Kur, was a buffer area

between north and the south and should be considered as an extension of Arran during this period. Like Darband Muqan was also absorbed by Shirvan at the end of the same century.

The cities of Armenia and Arran, though ruled by
Muslim amīrs, were under constant pressure from the Georgians
who captured them several times in this period. These Muslim
rulers did not mint their own coinage; in Dvin, Naxijawan,
and Ganja, Georgian, Ildegizid, Ryzantine and assorted
Islamic coins from the neighboring areas circulated freely.
These cities tried to maintain an independent and neutral
status. Likewisa. Shirvan and Darband, which were theoretically
part of the Islamic community under the Seljuq-Ildegizid
protectorate, had close though limited commercial relations
with the Georgians and often inter-married with them.

Secure in their forbidding mountainous country, the Georgians preserved a unique position as the only indigenous Christian state in the Middle East. Their power increased as the 6th/12th century matured, yet they never risked a complete break with the Muslim traditions which had permeated the life of many of their own citizens and those of the adjacent areas which they wished to conquer or at least to control. This fact was dramatically demonstrated by the uninterrupted minting of bilingual Arabie-Georgian coins.

The Ildegizids indulged in the same policy of concession towards their Christian subjects, but not so conspicuously. For Armenia and Arran they struck special

issues which omitted all pious Islamic legends and often the name of the caliph and even of the Seljuq sultan who was directly under their own control.

From the end of the 5th/llth century, when the central authority of the Great Seljuq Empire began to weaken until the first quarter 7th/l3th century when all of the Mear East was brought under the Mongel yoke, the struggle for power in Caucasia between the Georgians and the Ildegizids continued unbated. In this study the monetary and political history of southeastern Caucasia and Adharbayjan was investigated based on the Islamic coinage of the period. The research has revealed the following conclusions.

I. THE COINAGE

A. The Silver Crisis and Copper Coinage

The major numismatic generalization of the 6th/12th century, that no silver money was struck in the Middle East during the so-called silver crisis, has been confirmed by this study. The monetary output of the five dynasties examined was completely of copper with only two exceptions which themselves prove the general statement. The first of these are silver issues of the Shirvanshah continuing in small quantities right on to the mid-6th/12th century.

¹ See supra, the Shirvanshah Corpus, "Chap. Three," nos. 1-11.

This is contrary to the information given in the most recent study of this question which assets that only in Ghasnavid India was silver minted after 467/1075. Admittedly in the 6th/12th century silver of the Shirvanshah coinage becomes gradually more and more debased culminating in a unique specimen of Minuchihr II, dated 555/1160, which is made of billon, an alloy of silver, tin and copper. After this issue, copper with increasingly smaller traces of silver, was minted exclusively in Shirvan even after the Mongol conquest when the neighboring areas had switched back to silver.

the other exception to copper exclusivity is represented by three unique <u>dinars</u> of very base gold struck at the end of the 6th/12th century by the Ildegizid Abu Bakr b. Huhammad.⁶
They probably originated from a city in al-Jibal, perhaps

²A.M. Watson, "Back to Gold--and Silver," op.cit., p. 3, and nn. 3 and 4.

See supra, loc. cit., no. 13.

⁴supra, p. 186, n. 13.

Supra, loc.cit., nos. 33-47. The Georgians had already minted silver by 642/1244-5, while a decade and a half later the Shirvanshahs were still using copper; for the Georgian issues see Lang, op.cit., p. 35.

⁶See supra, the Ildegizid Corpus, "Chap. Five,"
nos. 45-47. pp. 349-351; no. 47 may belong to 'Uzbek rather
than Abu Bakr.

Hamadan, rather than Adharbayjan proper. On at least one and maybe two of these, the atabeg has assumed the title of "sultan," revealing the Ildegizid desire to succeed their recently destroyed Seljuq overlords. The striking of these gold coins was a futile gesture, an attempt to display the sham power of a state which soon was to decline and retreat before the pressures of its neighboring rivals and finally to succumb to the force of the invading Khwarazmshahs.

During this silver crisis in the Middle East, the entirely copper coinage of its entire northern belt, including Anatolia, northern Syria, upper Mesopotamia, Adharbayjān, Caucasia and al-Jibāl was divided into two very distinct categories which coincided with two specific geographical regions. West of Lake Urmiya and south and west of the upper Araxes, a large, uniform, and regular copper coinage was in circulation, which was characterized by representational motifs, usually human, on at least one side of each issue. In contrast to this, Caucasia including Christian Georgia, Adharbayjān, al-Jibāl and the other Muslim territories to the east and southeast, remained faithful to the de facto Islamic prohibition against imagery and employed, as was previously the case, only Arabic epigraphy on their coins.

Many of these representational issues, despite their copper composition, were regarded not as fals, but rather as

substitute <u>dirhams</u> struck in lieu of silver. This is attested by their comparative uniformity and great size, and especially by the words "<u>dirham</u>" or "<u>this is a dirham</u>" found on issues extending from al-Jibāl in the east to Anatolia in the west. 7 This fact, coupled with the portraiture, which was vaguely and probably intentionally reminiscent of the Ryzantine copper previously circulating in these fermerly Christian border areas, certifies that the token <u>dirhams</u> had a definite monetary value and were used for intra- and inter-regional commercial transaction.

Furthermore, the strictly non-representational coined copper of Caucasia and Adharbayjan, was itself separated into two broad types: regular and irregular. The former variety was minted to conform to certain standards of size, shape and weight, while the irregular type was struck without regard to any such criteria, except that each piece of copper should bear some part of a normally engraved die impression. Even among the regular type certain issues are very carelessly and haphazardly struck giving the impression of irregularity when compared to the token dirhams originating from the contiguous areas.

⁷See <u>supra</u>, "Chap. Two," Section II, D and E, pp. 115-123. The Georgians also employed this technique, putting the word "vetskhli," which signifies a silver piece, on their fractional copper coins; see Lang, p. 21.

The pattern of monetary circulation in Caucasia and Adharbayjan naturally follows the political and economic conditions which evolved from the power struggle between the Georgians and the Ildegizids. This is not to say that the type of coinage minted or used in any area was determined by this conflict, but rather that the numismatic evidence often defined the nature of this struggle. In Darband and Shirvan, the areas northeast of the Kur, only irregular copper was struck, and, as mentioned before, southeast of the Araxes only regular copper was issued. The territory in between the two rivers, that is Armenia, Arran and Muqan, was a mixed or neutral region where both regular (predominantly in the southern cities along the north bank of the Araxes: Ani. Dvin. Naxijawan) and irregular (mostly in the northern towns on the southern bank of the Kur: Ganja, Barda ca, Baylagan) varieties circulated.

This monetary duality is emphasized by the minting policy of the rival powers. The Georgians issued regular copper for the use in western and scuthern Georgia, Armenia and Arran, but also struck irregular copper for circulation in eastern Georgia, Darband and Shirvan. The Ildegizids minted a regular type for use in cities like Dvin and Naxijawan, as well as for southern Adharbayjan and northern al-Jibal, i.e., cities like Ardabil and Tabriz. Still a third type, found in

northern Arran, Ganja, Barda^ca, and Baylaqan, was of a hybrid variety, carelessly struck on angular and distorted rather than round planchets. These have not been found in the excavations in Dvin nor along the Araxes.

The geographical position of the two Ildegizid vassals studied in this work also affirms the foregoing hypothesis. The Bishkinid Maliks of Ahar, situated south of the Araxes, produced only very regular large copper coins of the token dirham type; they are well struck, dated and carry the mint name Ahar. The other as yet unidentified vassal issued coins at the end of the 6th/12th century which seem to have originated from the eastern corner of Arran or across the Araxes in Muqan. They exhibit the expected characteristics of Ildegicid coins from that area, casually minted, irregular, but conforming to certain loose standards of weight and diameter.

In this broad and consistent pattern it is difficult to explain the issues of 555/1160 to 559/1164 of the Maliks of Darband, on the only are they among the rare dated strikings of the totally irregular copper group, but these bits of copper bear the word diraham. Were they really intended to be used as token dirhams for commercial transactions? It does

This assumption is based on the location of the boards which contain these coins, see <u>supra</u>, "Chap. Seven," n. 3.

not seem likely; coin hoards have revealed that Gresham's Law lows operative in the area. law lower all why should someone have accepted or hoarded scraps of irregular copper, even if they had "diraham" on them, when they could have saved regular, round and uniform Ildegizid, Georgian, and foreign coins. As was suggested previously these may have been issued to pay a specific tribute or debt which was expressed in terms of so many dirhams. law another puzzle of these coins, the use of the plural diraham instead of the customary singular dirham, remains inexplicable. It may have simply been a spelling error, so common in the Arabic legends of this dynasty's coins.

B. Minting Data and Epigraphy

Dated issues are rarely found and when they are it is only among regular copper coinage. Those struck by the Ildegizids are from ArdabIl and have that mint name indicated,

⁹See their corpus, "Chap. Four," coins nos. 8-10, pp. 261-264.

¹⁰ when two coins are equal in debt-paying value but unequal in intrinsic value, the one having the lesser intrinsic value tends to remain in circulation and the other to be hoarded or exported as bullion." <u>Webster's Seventh New College Dictionary</u> (Springfield, Mass., 1965), p. 367.

ll See Pakhomov, Klady, VII, Hl799; of the more than 500 copper coins found in a hoard near Darband, fewer than 20 per cent were of the indigenous irregular type of the Maliks of Darband and the Shirvanshahs; half were Ildegizid and 25 per cent were the very regular Bishkinid type. See supra. "Chap. Six," the text at note 26.

¹² See supra, "Chap. Four," n. 28 and text there.

the recorded dates are 572/1176-575/1179-80, 585/1189, 589/-1193, 594/1198. Two other issues of Abu Bakr but without a mint are dated 609/1212 or 619/1222 and 618/1221.13 All Bishkinid coppers, as might be expected from their regularity, are dated and bear the mint name Ahar. More than 100 remaining issues of these dynasties, mostly of the irregular variety are undated and without mint; the exceptions once again illustrate the general principle. There are the "diraham" series of the Maliks of Darband just discussed; the unique coin of the Shirvanshah Minuchihr II dated 555/1160 (supra, n. 3) and minted at Shamakhi which is very carefully struck; another unique Shirvan issue of about the same period, but irregular; 14 and finally an issue of the Shirvanshah Akhsatan III under the Mongol protectorate, dated 653/1254, but without any mint. 15 The coins of the unidentified Ildegizid vassal bear neither date nor mint.

The actual technique of coin production varied. Most copper was coined on planchets cut or broken off from larger pieces of the metal. However, the Shirvanshahs and the unidentified vassal used cast planchets. Casting often left an

¹³ See supra, Ildegizid Corpus, "Chap. Five," nos. 48-49.

¹⁴ See supra, Shirvanshah Corpus, "Chap Three," no. 14.

¹⁵ Supra, loc. cit., no. 45.

extra globe of metal on one end of the coin from the side of the mould where the molten copper was poured. This gave such coins a tear drop effect. Many irregular Georgian issues also were struck on cast planchets, 16 suggesting the use of common minters by both dynasties and reflecting the close relations of the two. 17 The Ildegizid vassal also may have borrowed the same Shirvan minters.

The epigraphy on most coins from this region is similar. The angular Kufi is still used, but is much broader in its strokes than that utilized in the standard CAbbasid dirham and dinar of pre-Seljuq times. This is partly a function of the intrinsically ruder quality of copper as opposed to that of the precious metals. Besides this rather angular type there was the widespread use of a very cursive, rounded style of epigraphy; it was especially used on the coinage of the Ildegizid and their unidentified vassal. The Maliks of Ahar employ a semi-cursive or well rounded Kufi throughout; it is stylistically identical to that used on the representational, token dirham coppers of eastern Anatolia and upper Mesopotamia.

Errors in spelling are never found on Bishkinid coins and rarely on Ildegizid coins, reflecting their proximity to the main Islamic culture centers. However, the regions more

¹⁶See Lang, op.cit., p. 23, no. 10.

¹⁷ See supra, "Chap. Two," n. 155.

removed from the mainstream of this culture revealed their imperfect understanding of both the spelling and meaning of certain Arabic words. Errors such as al-Masir al-dinillah for al-Masir lidinillah, al-amrillah for li-amrillah, Tughril for Tughril, and Aslan for Arslan occurred regularly in the Darband, Shirvan and Georgian coinage; this may also indicate that Christian mint masters from Georgia, with a less than perfect knowledge of Arabic, were employed by them.

C. Titulature

The rulers of Darband used the title the Just Malik or simply the Malik. The Bishkinis called themselves the Maliks of the amirs except under Jalal al-Din of 623/1226. Mahmud b. Bishkin also called himself the Just Malik. The unidentified vassal of Abu Bakr assumed no honorary titles on his coins. The Shirvanshahs were Just Maliks, but also very commonly the Supreme Maliks. The title Shirvanshah was only used on two issues dating from the turn of the 6th/12th century. ¹⁸ For the Ildegisids there is a wide range of titles which change as the political conditions around them altered and to the degree that they were successful in manipulating the affairs of the Seljuq sultanate or winning the favor of the caliph in Baghdad. In order of the greatest frequency they were, the

¹⁸ Supra, "Chap. Three," nos. 18 and 28.

Greatest Atabak, the Supreme Atabak, Atabak, Malik of the amirs, Jihan Pahlavan, Shahanshah(?), 19 and sultan. 20 Thus, these rulers were all Maliks, except the Ildegizids who in addition, by virtue of being guardians of Seljuq princes, were also atabegs

II. POLITICS AND HISTORY

The Cabbasid caliph in Baghdad was theoretically still the supreme Islamic ruler. By tradition his name was mentioned in the khutbah at the Friday prayer and on all coins. Of the 125 or more varieties which make up the corpora of this work only about ten omit the mention of the caliph's name; these are Ildegizid issues intended for use in large Armenian commercial cities like Dvin where almost all of them have been found. After the caliph's name that of the Seljuq sultan, the secular arm of the Islamic commonwealth, was mentioned. Prior to the death of the last Great Seljuq, sultan Sanjar, in the mid-6th/-12th century, very often in southeastern Caucasia, Adharbayjyan and al-Jibāl, both the names of the Great Sultan and the sultan of Iraq were placed on coins. This was especially true of issues of Shams al-DIn Ildegiz. The most distant of

¹⁹ Supra, "Chap. Five," nos. 40A and B, pp. 343-344.

Found on two of the three base dinars of Abu Bakr, see supra, n. 6.

^{21 &}lt;u>Loc. cit.</u>, nos. 8-10, 14, 25, 26, 41-43.

the dynasties, the Maliks of Darband, mentioned the sultan by title, but only once by name under Muhammad b. Mahmud at midcentury; after the death of Ildegiz (571/1175) they dropped all reference to the sultan. This pattern reflected the relative strength of the Ildegizids who were the power behind the sultanate in the dyarchy established by Shams al-Din. As Georgian influence increased and Ildegizid power declined, remote Darband, unfearful of atabegs ability to enforce allegiance to the sultan, discontinued this outward show of loyalty.

The situation and position of the Shirvanshahs was quite different. They were the immediate neighbors of the Ildegizids and felt their power and authority and at times called on them for protection from external invaders. They were never remiss in mentioning the sultan's title and name; from Alp Arslan to the last sultan Tughril b. Arslanshah the succession of names was regular. Ildegiz's influence in Shirvan was highlighted by the mention of sultan Sulayman b. Mahmud, who ruled for a few months in 555/1160, on the unique coin of Minuchihr II already mentioned (supra, n. 3). Sulayman was originally supported by Ildegiz; it is clear that the atabeg was able to exert enough pressure on the Shirvanshah to have him quickly mint this issue. Coins of Darband of the same year did not honor the sultan. Both Ildegizid vassals, the BIshkInids and the unidentified one, began minting after

the fall of the Iraq sultanate; however, the Bishkinids placed the title "the Greatest Sultan" on the issues of 623/1226 struck in the name of the Khwarazmshah Jalal al-Din.

Though the Georgians consistently used Arabic legends during the whole 6th/12th century never once did the name or the title of the caliph appear, r the word Allah or any other Islamic religious expressions. However, under Khwarazmian rule, coins honoring Jalal al-DIn, "the Greatest Sultan," were struck; under Mongol domination both the Georgians and the Shirvanshah mentioned the ruling Great Khan and his title. 22

The actual sovereignty of the Ildegizid atabegs extended to the Bishkinids at Ahar and the unidentified vassal. The mention of Abu Bakr and 'Uzbek was absolutely consistent until 614/1217-18 when much of al-Jibal was lost by the latter to the Khwarazamshah Takash; according to Nasawi Mahmud b. Bishkin was captured by the Khwarazmians and upon his release became a sworn ally of theirs. 23 Unfortunately, where not a single absolutely verifiable issue from the nine year period 614/1217-8 to 623/1226, so we are not sure of the relationship of the vassal to 'Uzbek.

Shirvan and Darband were certainly under the political influence of the Ildegizids for major portions of the second

²²See supra, "Chap. Three," nos. 45-47.

²³ See supra, "Chap. Six," n. 6.

half of the 6th/12th century, but never was there a <u>de jure</u> dependency or vassalage; not once was the title or name of an Ildegizid found on their coins. Thus the Maliks of Darband and the Shirvanshahs were able to remain neutral and independent in their corner of Caucasia during the whole century.

If any definite upset to the balance of power between the Ildegizids and the Georgians occurred it was during the reigns of Queen T'amar (580/1184-610/1213) and the atabeg Abū Bakr (587/1191-607/1210). The power of Georgia was at its peak and that of the Ildegizids in decline. Ani was taken by T'amar in 1201; by 600/1203 she had annexed Ganja, Dvin, and most of Arran. Abū Bakr, tired of these Georgian raids and incursions on his lands, married a Georgian princess in 602/1205-6, but to no avail. Losing lands in the north the atabeg moved south and in 604/1207 took Maragha from the Ahmadīlīs. In the next year he attacked Ani and massacred thousands of its inhabitants. For the next two years the Georgians in a series of reprisal raids ravaged the Ildegizid lands in Adharbayjān carrying the war all the way to Ardabīl and Tabrīz. The Georgians were now the masters of the lands

²⁴ Ibn al-Athir, XII, p. 160; the Georgian Chronicle does not refer to such a marriage in T'amar's time, cf., V. Minorsky, "Caucasica II/1," p. 873.

²⁵Details of these events will be found in W.E. D. Allen, A History of the Georgian People, op.cit., pp. 105-109, and C. Toumanoff, "Armenia and Georgia," Chap. XIV, Cambridge Medieval History, Vol. IV, Part I, p. 624.

between the Araxes and the Kur as well as the <u>de facto</u> overlords of Shirvan who were also related to them by marriage. The Ildegizid state was reduced to the area of Adharbayjan south of the Araxes and even there the Ahar region was semilindependent. However, the new arrangement was short-lived; the coming of the Khwarazmians resulted in the downfall of the atabeg dynasty and the retreat of the Georgians back to their mountain strongholds. Political unity was again brought to the whole area but only under the forced conditions of the Mongol conquest.

III. THE ETHNIC COMPOSITION

It is perhaps true and certainly fashionable to assume that Adharbayjan became turkified by the Oghuz Turkomans beginning with the Seljuq invasions of the 5th/llth century. 26 Whatever the merits and proofs of this theory may be, up to the Mongol invasion there is no ostensible proof that these Oghuz elements had any political or economic power in the area. The jands north of the Kur were comtrolled by a local Arab dynasty in Darband and an Iranized Arab dynasty in Shirvan. The occurrence of the Turkic name Bekbars in the Darband line was probably due to a passing influence, perhaps by a marriage

²⁶ See supra, "Introd.," n. 20.

to a Turkic woman on the part of Bekbar's father Muhammad. The name of Bekbar's son, Cabd-al-Malik, shows no trace of a lasti Turkification in the area. Even assuming the name Bekbars was a sign of a Turkic environment in the ruling circles of al-Bab, it appears to be of Kipchak rather than Oghnzorigin.

The region between the Araxes and the Kur was populated by Armenians in the southwestern cities, ruled over by the Kurdish Shaddadids; the northern and northeastern areas had a Muslim population, but with a large Armenian minority and little evidence of Turkish inhabitants in the cities. In Adharbayjan proper, the Ahar district was controlled by Georgian converts to Islam. There is no indication of a Turkification of the BIshkinids except their use of a dynastic tempha.27 Only the Seljuqs themselves and their Ildegizid atabegs had any political power. In Adharbayjan under the latter's protectorate, it is quite possible that Turkomans were encouraged to settle so that they could be exploited as a natural source of fighting men for the large Ildegizid army. But Shams al-Din was himself a Kipchak and not an Oghuz Turk. To the south, the Kurdish Ahmadilis at Maragha had gradually lost control of the land in favor of their Turkic mamluks; however, the population seemed to have remained Kurdish during this period.

²⁷ See supra, "Chap. Two," Section II, F.

Though we read of nomadic Turkomans in the Islamic and Christian sources, it is clear that besides the Seljuqs, Oghuz Turkic elements had no political authority in Caucasia and northern Adharbayjan after the middle of the 6th/12th century. They did not really take control of the area until two centuries later when, as Il-Khanid rule declined and retreated, Turkoman elements seized control of the region. Perhaps in the 8th/14th century there was an Oghuz Turkification which eventually led to the creation of the present day Azeri language area, but from the 5th/11th to the 7th/13th century, Caucasia and much of Adharbayjan were not dominated by a Turkic ethnic and cultural milieu.

In conclusion the coinage of these centuries not only accurately reflected the primary political and economic conditions in the area - the Georgian-Ildegizid conflict and the isolation and localization of the economy - but it enriched the history with fresh data about individual rulers and dynasties, data which are lacking in the scant medieval literary sources. The numismatic evidence has clearly shown the broad pattern of alliances and allegiances in these provinces and has indicated from what direction more comprehensive histories of this region and its dynasties should be approached. The study has repeatedly emphasized that many of its generalizations about coin types and monetary circulation are based on detailed and well reported archeological evidence

from the Soviet area of Caucasia, and, therefore, such general statements may be completely invalidated or drastically revised when systematic numismatic work is done in eastern Anatolia and northwestern Iran. There is every reason to believe that new and historically interesting coins from this area will continue to come to light.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. THE SOURCES

A. Collections of Sources

- Defrémery, C., "Fragments de géographes et d'historiens arabes et persans inédits, relatifs aux anciens peuples du Caucase et de la Russie méridionale," JA, Series 4, XIII-XVII (1849-1851).
- Houtsma, M. Th., ed., Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seljoucides, 4 vols. (Leyden, 1886-1902).
- Karaulov, N.A., <u>Evedenija</u> arabskikh pisatelei o Kavkaze, <u>Armenii i Azerbeidshane (Information of Arab Writers</u> Concerning the Caucasus, <u>Armenia and Adharbayian), Sbornik</u> <u>materialov dlia opisanija mesnostei i plemen Kavkasa</u> (<u>Collection of Material for the Description of Places</u> <u>and Peoples of the Caucasus</u>), XXIX (1901), XXXI (1902), XXXIII (1903) (n.a.).
- Recueil des Historiens des Croisades (Paris, 1841-1906), (reprint 1966-1967).

B. Islamic Sources

- Abu'l-Fida, al-Mukhtasar fl ta'rlkh al-bashar (Istanbul, 1286/1869-70), Latin trans., Gagnier (Oxford, 1723)(n.a.).
- Afdal al-Din Kirmani, Bada'i al-azman fi waqa kirman, ed. M. Bayani (Tehran, 1326/1908).
- al-CAIni, al-Mujlad al-Raba min ta'rikh al-CAIni, MS, LOINA (n.a.).
- Akhsikati, Divan, MS, B.M., Or.268 (n.a.).
- CAWfI, Lubab al-Albab, ed. E.G. Browne, Persian Historical Texts Series, Part 1 (1906), Part II (1903) (n.a.).
- al-Bundari, Zubdat al-nusrah wa nukhat al-Cusrah, ed. M. Th. Houtsma, Requeil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides, Vol. II (Leyden, 1889); Turkish trans., K. Burslan, Irak ve Horasan Selcuklulari Tarihi (Istanbul, 1943).

- Davlatshin, Tadkhirat al-Shucara, ed. E.G. Browne, The Tadkhiratu sh-Shucara ("Mémoires of the Poets") (Leyden, 1901).
- Falaki-i-Shirwani, <u>Diwan-i-Falaki</u>, ed. H. Hasan, <u>RAS</u> (London, 1930).
- Faryabi, Zahir al-min, piwan, ed. (Tehran, 1324/1906)(n.a.).
- Ghaffarī, Jahan-arā, MSS, BM, Or.141; Cambridge, Browne, Glo (13) (n.a.).
- al-Gharnatī, Abū-Hamid al-Andalusī, <u>Tuhfat al-Albab</u>, ed. Gabriel Ferrand, "Le Tuhfat al-Albab," <u>JA</u> (1925), pp. 1-148, 193-304.
- Hudud al-Calam, 'The Regions of the World,' A Persian
 Geography, 372 A.H.-982 A.D., trans. Vladimir Minorsky,
 GMS (London, 1937).
- al-Husaynī, Calī ibn Nāsir, <u>Akhbar al-davlat al-saliūqiyya</u>, ed. Muhammad Iqbal (Lahore, 1933); Turkish trans. Necati Lūgal, Ahbar td-devlet is-selcukiyye (Ankara, 1943).
- Ibn al-Athir, al-Kamil fi al-ta'rikh, ed. C.J. Tornberg, Ibn-el-Athiri Chronicon, 14 vols. (Leyden/Upsala, 1851-76); trans. (partial), C. Defrémery, "Fragments," JA, XIII-XIV (1849); extracts, ECH, Historiens orientaux, Vol. I (1876), Vol. II (1876), Russian trans. (partial), P.K. Zhuze, Materialy po istorii Azerbaidzhana iz Tarikh-al-Kamil Ibn-al-Asira (Material Concerning the History of Adharbay-jan from the Ta'rikh al-Kamil of Ibn al-Athir) (Baku, 1940).
- Havsil, ed. and trans. (Histoire des Atabeks de Mossoul), RHC; Historiens orientaux, Vol. II (Paris, 1876).
- Ibn Azraq al-Fariqī, Ta'rīkh Mayyafariqīn, MS, BM, Or.5803; trans. (extracts), H.F. Amedroz, History of Damascus
 363-555 A.H. by Ibn al-Oslanisī (Leyden, 1908), pp. 253256, resume, pp. 46-48; (extracts), V. Minorsky, "Caucasica in the History of Mayyafariqīn," BSOAS, XIII/1 (1949), pp. 27-35; idem, Studies (see infra), pp. 79-106; idem, Sharvan (see infra), pp. 170-172.
- Ibn Isfandiyar, Ta'rikh Taberistan, abridged trans., Part I, E.G. Browne, History of Tabaristan, GMS, III, (London, 1905), Part II, ed. A. Iqbal (Tehran, 1320/1992-3) (n.a.).

- Ibn al-Jawzī, Abū al-Faraj, <u>al-Muntazam fī ta'rīkh al-mulūk</u> wa al-umam, Vol. X (Hyderabad, 1359/1940) (n.a.).
- Ibn Jubayr, Ribla, ed. M.J. de Goeje (revision and ed., W. Wright), GMS, V (Leyden, 1907); trans., R. Broadhurst, The Travels of Ibn Jubayr (London, 1952).
- Ibn Khaldun, <u>Kitāb al^cibar wa diwan al-mubtada</u>, 7 vols. (Bulak, 1867) (n.a.).
- al-Isfahani, cImad al-Din, Musrat al-fatra wa cusrat al-fatra, abridgement by al-Bundari Zubdat, see supra.
- JuwainT, CAta-Malik, Ta'rikh-i-Jahan-Gusha, ed. Mirza M.
 Oazvini, 3 vols., GMS, XVI/1,2,3 (London, 1912, 1916,
 1937); trans., John A. Boyle, The History of the WorldConqueror, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press,
 1958).
- al-Khaki, Ahsan al-tawarikh, MS, BM, Or.1649 (n.a.).
- al-Hamavi, Ta'rikh al-Mansuri, ed. P. Griaznevich (Moscow, 1960) (n.a.).
- Khaqani, Afdal al-Din Ibrahim, Diwan, ed. Lucknow, <u>Kullivat-i-Khaqani</u> (1293/1878), ed. A. Abdel Rasuli (Tehran, 1316/1898-9) (n.a.).
- Mas^cūd ibn Nāmdār (<u>Varia</u>), ed. and trans., V. Minorsky and C. Cahen, "Le recueil transcaucasien de Mas^cūd b. Nāmdār," JA (1949), pp. 93-142.
- Mirkhwand, Fawdat al-safa, ed. Vullers, fi oria Seldschukidarum (Gissae, 1839) (n.a.).
- Münejjim-bashi, Ahmad ibn Lutfullah, Saha'if al-akhbar, ed. Ahmad Medim, 2 vols. (Istanbul, 1285/1868)(n.a.), see also infra, Ta'rikh al-Bab.
- al-Nasawi, Sirat al-sultan Jalal al-Din Manguberni, ed. and trans., O. Houdas, <u>Mistoire du Sultan Dielal ed-Din Mankobirti</u>, 2 vols. (Paris, 1891, 1895).
- Mishāpurī, Zahīr al-Dīn, Saljuqnāmah, ed. Gelāleh Khawar (Tehran, 1332/1953) (n.a.).

- Nizāmī, Jamāl al-Dīn, Iskandarnamah (Lucknow, 1323/1905)(n.a.).
- , Khusraw wa Shirin (Lucknow, 1288/1871)(n.a.).
- , Layla wa Mainun (Lucknow, 1870) (n.a.).
- al-Qazwini, Hamdullah Mustawfi, Muzhat al-qulub, ed., Guy Le Strange, GMS, XXIII/1 (London, 1915); trans., idem, The Geographical Part of the Muzhat al-Culub, GMS, XXIII/2 (London, 1919).
- Browne, 2 vols, GMS, XIV/1,2 (London, 1910, 1913).
- Rashid al-Din Fadlullah, Jami^C al-Tavarikh, Part I, ed. and trans., E. Quatremère, Histoire des Mongols de la Perse (Paris, 1836), Part II, ed. E. Blochet, GMS, XVIII (London, 1912), ed. I.B. Berezin (St. Petersburg, 1858-1888); Part II/5, ed. Ahmed Ates, "Dhikr-i Tarikh-i Al-i Salchuq," Türk Tarih Kurumu YavInlarindan, Series III, no. 6 (Ankara, 1960); Parts I/1,2, Sbornik letopisei, A.A. Khetagutov and O.I. Smirnova, 2 vols. (Moscow, 1952).
- Rashid al-Din Vatvat, Mamah-ha-yi Rashid al-Din Vatvat, ed. G. Toocyerkani (Tehran, 1960), ed. M.A. Fahmi, 2 vols. (Cairo, 1939)(n.a;).
- al-Ravandī, Muhammad, Rahat-us-Sudūr wa ayat-us-Surur: Being a History of the Seliugs, ed. M. Iqbal, GMS, New Series, II (Leyden, 1921); Turkish trans., Ahmed Ates, 2 vols. (Ankara, 1957, 1960).
- Shahriyari, Imadi-i, Diwan, MS, BM, Or.298 (n.a.).
- Shufurwah, Zahir al-Din, <u>Diwan</u>, MS, India Office, no. 240 (n.a.).
- Sibt ibn al-Jawzī, <u>Hir'āt al-zamān</u>, Vol. VIII/1 (Hyderabad, 1951)(n.a.).
- Ta'rikh al-Bab or Ta'rikh Bab al-abwab, preserved in Monejjim-bashi (see <u>supra</u>), text and trans., V. Minorsky, <u>Studies in Caucasian Ristory</u> (London, 1953), and <u>idem</u>, <u>A Ristory of Sharvan and Derband</u> (Cambridge, 1958), Russian trans. (Moscow, 1963).
- Yaqut ibn Abdullah al-Hamawi, Mucjam al-buldan, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, 6 vols. (Leipzig, 1866-1873, reprint 1965), new ed., 5 vols. (Beirut, 1957).

C. Georgian Sources

- Abuserije, Khwarazmian Invasion of Georgia, ed. T. Zordania Chronicles and other Materials for the History of Georgia (in Georgian), 2 vols. (Tiflis, 1892-1897) (n.a.)
- Georgian Royal Annals or the Georgian Chronicle (K'art'lis C'zovreba), ed. and trans., M. Brosset, Histoire de la Géorgie depuis l'antiquité jusqu'au XIXe slècle, Part I/1,2, Histoire ancienne jusqu'en 1469 de J.C., Trans.,
 2 vol., (St. Petersburg, 1849-50); Additions et éclaircissements à l'Histoire de la Géorgie, M. Brosset (St.
 retersburg, 1031); Armenian auaptation by Juliuser, Frage
 patmut'iwn (History of Georgia) (Venice, 1884).
- Varust, Geographical Description of Georgia (in Georgian), ed. and trans., M. Brosset, Description géographique de la Géorgie par le Tsarevitch Wakboucht (St. Petersburg, 1842).

D. Syriac Sources

- Abu l Faraj (known also as Bar Hebraeus and as Ibn al-Clbri),
 The Chronography of Gregory Abu l Farai, the Hebrew
 Physician, commonly known as Bar Hebraeus, facsimile ed.
 and trans., E.A. Wallis Budge, 2 vols. (London, 1932);
 Arabic abridgement by the author, Ta'rikh mukhtasar
 al-duwal, ed., A. Salihani (Beirut, 1890); Russian
 trans. (excerpts), R. Guselnov (Huselnov), Siriiskie
 istochniki ob Azerbaidzhane (Syriac Sources Concerning
 Adharbayikn) (Baku, 1960), pp. 64-89.
- Michael the Syrian, Chronicle, facsimile ed. and trans.,
 J.-B. Chabot, 4 vols. (Paris, 1899-1910); Armenian
 adaptation, Pataut in tamanakagrakan (Chronicle History)
 (Jerusalem, 1871), trans., Victor Langlois, Chronique
 de Michael le Grand (Venice, 1868); Russian trans. (excerpts), R. Guseinov (Huseinov), ibid. (see supra), pp.
 25-52.

E. Armenian Sources

Anonymous Chronicle (Ananun žamanakarut'yun), ed. H. Manvelyan and H. Abrahamyan (Erevan, 1940), ed. V.A. Habokyan, Manr žamanakagrut'yunner XIII-XVIII dd. (Minor Chronicles of the XIII-XVIII Centuries), Vol. II (Erevan, 1956), No. 4, pp. 115-172.

- Anonymous Chronicle (Ananun Zamanakarut'yun), ed. V. Hakobyan, ibid. (see supra), Vol. II, No. 24, pp. 499-504.
- Aristakes of Lastivert (Lastivertci), Patmut'iwn (History), ed. K.N. Yuzbasyan (Erevan, 1963); tran., E. Prud'homme, Revue de l'Orient, Series 3, XV-XVII (Paris, 1863-4).
- Gamesan, Mik'ayel, Patmut'iwn Havoc (History of the Armenians), 3 vols. (Venice, 1784-86).
- Colophons, <u>Yisatakarank' jeragrac (Colophons of Manuscripts)</u>, ed. Garegin I Kat'olikos (Yousep'ean), Vol. I (Antelias, 1951.
- Colophons, JE dari Haveren jeragreri hisatakaranner (Colophons of 15th Century Armenian Manuscripts), ed. L.A. Kaçikyan, Vol. I (Erevan, 1955).
- Kirakos of Ganja (Ganjakeçi), Hamarot Patmut'iwn (Universal History) (Venice, 1865), ed. K.A. Melik'-Ohanjanyan (Erevan, 1961); extracts and trans., RCH. Doc. arm., Vol. I (1869); trans., M. Brosset, Deux historiens arméniens, Vol. I (St. Petersburg, 1870); Russian trans., T. Ter-Grigorian (Baku, 1946); partial trans., J.A. Boyle, "The Journey of Het'um I, King of Little Armenia to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke," Central Asian Journal, IX/3 (1964), pp. 174-189.
- Matthew of Edessa (Matt'eos Urhayeci), Patmut'iwn (History) (Jerusalem, 1869); excerpts and trans., RHC. Doc. arm., Vol. I; trans., E. Dulaurier (Paris, 1858).
- Mxit ar Gos, Chronicle, text in Ł. Alisan, Hayapatum, patmut in Hayoc (History of the Armenians), Vol. II (Venice, 1901), pp. 276-278; trans., G.J.F. Dowsett, "The Albanian Chronicle of Mxit ar Gos," BSOAS, XXI/3 (1958), pp. 472-490.
- Samuel of Ani (Aneci), Zamanakagrut'iwn (Chronology), ed.
 Ter-Mkrtcean (Valarsapat, 1893); excerpts with trans.,
 RHC. Doc. arm., Vol. I; Latin trans., J. Zohrab and A.
 Mai (Milan, 1818), French trans., M. Brosset, Collection
 d'historiens arméniens, Vol. II (St. Petersburg, 1876).
- Step annos Orbelean, Pataut'iwn mahangin Sisakan (History of the Province of Siunik'), ed. K. Sahnazarean, 2 vols. (Paris, 1859); trans., M. Brosset, Histoire de la Siounie, 2 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1864-66).

- Thomas acruni (T'ovma Arcruni), Patmut'iwn tann Arcruneac (History of the Arcruni House) (Constantinople, 1852); trans., M. Brosset, Histoire des Ardzrouni, Collection des Historiens Armeniens, Vol. I (St. Petersburg, 1874).
- Vardan, Vardapet, Havak'umn Patmut'ean (Universal History)
 (Venice, 1862), extracts with trans., RHC. Doc. arm., Vol.
 I; trans. (extracts), E. Dulaurier, Les Mongols d'après
 les historiens arméniens (Paris, 1861).

F. Epigraphy

- Basmadjian, K., "Les inscriptions arméniennes d'Ani, de Bagnaïr et de Marmachên," Revue de l'Orient Chrétien, XXII-XXVII (Paris, 1920-1930).
- Combe, Et., J. Sauvaget, and G. Wiet (eds.), Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe, Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, 16 vols. (Cairo, 1931-1964).
- Dorn, Bernard, "Bericht über eine Wissenschaftliche Reise in den Kaukasus und den südlichen Küstenländern des Kaspischen Meeres, "Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale de St. Pétersbourg, Vol. IV (1858) (n.e.).
- Khanykov, N.V., "Mémoire sur les inscriptions musulmanes du Caucase," JA (1862).
- Lavrova, L.I., Epigraficheskie pamiatniki severnogo Kavkaza na arabskom, persidskom i turetskom iazykakh (Epigraphical Monuments of Northern Caucasia in the Arabic, Persian and Turkish Languages), Vol. I (X-XVII Centuries) (Moscow, 1966).
- G. Numismatic Collections Containing Unpublished Coins Used in the Corpus

American Rumismatic Society, New York.

Archeological Museum, Coin Cabinet, Istanbul.

Ashmolean Museum, Heberden Coin Room, Oxford.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Paris.

British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals, London.

E. Zygman Collection, New York.

Hermitage Museum, Leningrad.

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Münzkabinett, Berlin.

Yapi ve Kredi Bankasi, Coin Room, Istanbul.

II. NUMISMATIC LITERATURE

- Bartholomaei, J. de, "Lettre adressée par M. le Général J. Bartholomaei à M. Soret sur des Monnaies Koufiques inédites, rapportées de Perse," RNB, Series 3, III (1859), pp. 321-361, 17-467.
- Koufiques inédites, rapportées de Perse, RNB, V (1861), pp. 21-72.
- _____, "Troisième lettre...," RNB, VI (1862), pp. 23-105.
- Bedoukian, Paul Z., The Coinage of Cilician Armenia, ANS (New York, 1962); Armenian ed. (Vienna, 1965).
- , "Recent Articles on Armenian Numismatic," Revue des Etudes Arméniernes, New Series, I (Paris, 1963).
- Blake, Robert P., "The Circulation of Silver in the Moslem East down to the Mongol Epoch, " Hervard Journal of Asiatic Studies, II (1937), pp. 291-328.
- Blau, 0., Die Orientalischen Münzen des Kaiserlischen Historisch-Archaologischen Gesellschaft zu Odessa (Odessa, 1876).
- , <u>Mumismatische Zeitschrift</u>, (1878), pp. 65-66.
- Butak, Behzad, Resimli Türk Paralari, XI. XII. ve XIII. Yüzyillarda (Istanbul, 1947).
- Bykov, A., "Gruzinskie monety XII-XIII vv. (Georgian Coins of the XII-XIIIth Centuries)," <u>Pamiatniki epokhi Rustaveli</u> <u>Broch (Monuments of the Rustaveli Epoch)</u> (Leningrad, 1938) 1938, (n.a.)
- Codrington, C., A Manual of Musulmen Fumismatics (London, 1904).

- Davidovich, E.A., "Gorod, remesho i deneshnoe obrashchenie v sredniei Azii perioda tak nazyvaemogo serebrianogo krizisa! (City, Trade and Monetary Circulation in the Period of the Near East Known as the Silver Crisis," (XI-XIII Centuries), Materialy vtorogo soveschenia arkheologov i etnografov sredniei Azii (Materials of the Second Conference of Archeology and Ethnography of the Near East (Moscow/Leningrad, 1949).
- Dorn, Bernard, Ch.M. Fraehnii. Nova Supplementa ad Recensionem numorum Muhammedanorum. Acad. Imp. Scient. Petropolit. Additamentis editoris aucta (St. Petersburg, 1855).
- Bulletin de l'Académie, VII (1864), also in Mélanges asiatiques, V (n.a.).
- Frachn, Ch.M., Das Muhammedanischen Hünzen des Asiatischen Museum der K.A. der Wissenschaft zu St. Petersburg (St. Petersburg, 1821).
- Gesellschaft für Literature and Kunst, Vol. II (Mitau, 1847) (n.a.).
- Recensic Numorum Muhammedanorum Academiae Imp. Scient. Petropolitanae (St. Petersburg, 1826).
- Ghalib, Isma cil, Müzeyi-Humayun. Meskukat-i-Gadimeh-i-Islamiyyeh Gataloghi (Constantinople, 1312/1894-5).
- Inal, Günar, "A Study of the Iconography of Some Turkish Coins from the 12th and 13th Centuries," an unpublished paper prepared for the Summer Seminar in Numismatics, ANS (New York, 1962).
- Kapanadze, D.G., <u>Gruzinskaia numizmatika (Georgian Numismatics)</u> (Moscow, 1955).
- Karabacek, J., <u>Miener Numismatische Monatshefte</u>, IV (1868), pp. 70-71.
- Keary, C.F., "The Morphology of Coins," <u>Numismatic Chronicle</u> (1885-6)(n.a.).
- Koiava, N.N., "Denezhnoe obrashchenie Gruzii v epokhu Rustaveli (Monetary Circulation of Georgia during the Rustaveli Epoch)," Sbornik Rustaveli (Tiflis, 1938)(n.a.).

- Lane-Poole, Stanley, Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum, Vol. III (London, 1877).
- , Coins of the Urtuki Turkmans (London, 1875).
- Lang, David M., Studies in the Numismatic History of Georgia in Transcaucasia, AMS (New York, 1955).
- Langlois, Victor, <u>Mumismatique de la Géorgie au Moyen Age</u> (Paris, 1852).
- Markov', A., Inventarnyi Katalog' Musul'manskikh' Monet' Imperatorskogo Ermitasha (Inventory of Muslim Coins in the Imperial Hermitage), with three supplements (St. Petersburg, 1896-1904).
- Miles, George C., "The Excavation Coins of Rayy," unpublished manuscript in the ANS, New York.
- 1938). The Numismatic History of Rayy, ANS (New York,
- , "A Portrait of the Buyid Prince Rukn al-Dawlah," ANS, Museum Notes, XI (1964), pp. 283-293.
- , Rare Islamic Coins, ANS (New York, 1950).
- Museum, "Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau, XLV (1966), pp. 131-142.
- Mushegian, Khachatur A., <u>Denezhnoe obrashchenie Dvina po</u> numizmaticheskim danrym (The Monetary Circulation of Dvin according to <u>Numismatic Data</u>) (Rrevan, 1962).
- Østrup, J., Catalogue des Monnaies Arabes et Turques du Cabinet Royal des Médailles du Musée National de Copenhague (Copenhagen, 1938).
- Pakhomov, E.A., "Khimicheskii analiz shirvanshakhskikh monet (Chemical Analysis of Shirvanshah Coins)," Iz. Azkom. (Baku, 1928), pp. 35-38.
- ekskursa po istorii Shirvanshakhov XI-XIV vv. (A Short Course of the History of Adharbay in with an Appendix of an Excursus on the Shirvanshahs of the XI-XIV Centuries) (Baku, 1923).

- , "Monetnoe obraschenie Azerbaidshana, v XII i nachale XIII veka (The Monetary Circulation of Adharbayjan in the XIIth and Beginning of the XIIIth Centuries)," Numizmaticheskii sbornik, XXVI (1957), pp. 82-90.
- Honetnye klady Azerbaidzhana i Zakavkaz'ia (Coin Hoards of Adharbayjan and the Caucasus), Fasciule I, Trudy Ob-va obsledovania i izucheniia Azerbaidzhana, Fascicule III (Baku, 1926); Fascicule II, Monetnye klady Azerbaidzhana i drugikh respublik i kraev Kavkaza (1938); Fascicule III, Monetnye klady Azerbaidzhana i drugikh respublik, kraev i oblastel Kavkaza (1940); Fasc. IV-V (same title as III) (Baku, 1949); Fasc. VI (same title as III) (1954); Fasc. VII (same as III) (Baku, 1963); Fasc. IX (same as III, posthumous) (Baku, 1966).
- , "Monetnye nakhodki v A.S.S.R. v 1924 g. (Coin Hoards in Azerbaidzhan S.S.R. in the Year 1924),"

 Iz.Az.A.K. (Baku, 1925), pp. 71-85.
- , Monety Azerbaishana (Coins of Adharbayian), 2 vols. (Baku, 1959, 1963).
- (Coins of Georgia, Part I, The Pre-Mongol Period) (all published) (St. Petersburg, 1910).
- , "Monety iz raskopok 1959-1960 gg. v kreposti razvalinokh Kabaly (Coins from the Excavation of 1959-1960 in the Ruins of the Kabali Fortress)," Materialy Kultury Azerbaidzhana, V (Baku, 1964), pp. 178-186.
- Gosudarstvennyi Universitet, Vostokovedeniia, III (Baku, 1928), pp. 11-15.
- ing the Darband Principality of the XII-XIII centuries),"

 Iz.Az.GNII, I/2 (Baku, 1930), pp. 1-12.
- coin of Korike the Curopalata, (Concerning the istorike-arkheologichskogo instituta (Tulletin of the Institute of the History-Archeology of the Caucasus), III (Tiflis, 1925), pp. 37-48.
- " "Sabir-abadskii monetnyi klad 1926 g. (The Sabir-abadski Monetary Hoard of 1926)," Is Askom. (Baku, 1928), pp. 31-34.

- , "Shirvanshakh Shakhanshakh (Shirvanshah Shahanshah), 13.AZ.A.K. (Baku, 1925), pp. 69-70.
- Soret, F., "Lettre à S. Exc. M. le conseiller d'Etat actuel de Gilles, sur quelques monnaies inédites de l'Adherbaidjan," RN (1859), pp. 476-486 (1860), pp. 68-77.
- Spasskii, I. and V. Yanin, "Sovetskaia numizmatika bibliograficheskii ukazatel 1917-1958 gg. (Bibliographical Index of Soviet Numismatics of the Years 1917-1958),"

 Numizmatika i epigrafika, II (Moscow, 1960), pp. 155-209.
- Thompson, Margaret. The Athenian Agora. Coins from the Roman through the Venetian Period (Princeton, 1954).
- Valentine, W.H., "Early Muhammadan Coins," manuscript in the library of the ANS, New York.
- Watson, Andrew M., "Bank to Gold-and Silver," The Economic History Review, Series II, XX/1 (1967), pp. 1-34.
- Ziya, Ahmed, Catalogue of Islamic Coins (Constantinople, 1910).

III. GENERAL LITERATURE

- Ali-Zade, Abdul-Kerim, "Iz istorii gosudarstva Shirvanshakhov v XIII-XIV vv. (From the History of the Government of the Shirvanshahs in the XIII-XIV Centuries)," Iz.ANAz.,(1949), Fasc. 8 (n.a.).
- v.) (Some information Concerning Shirvan (to the Beginning of the XIIIth Century)," Iz.ANAz. (1947), Fasc. 12 (n.a.).
- , Sotrial no-ékonomicheskaia i politicheskaia istoriia Azerbaizhana XIII-XIV vv. (Social-Economic and Political History of Adharbayian of the XII-XIIIth Centuries) (Baku, 1956).
- Allen, W.E.D., A History of the Georgian People (London, 1932).
- Artamonov, M.I., Istoriia Khazar (The History of the Khazars) (Leningrad, 1962).
- Barthold, V.V., <u>Istorii kul'turnoi zhizni Turkestana (History of the Cultural Life of Turkestan)</u> (Leningrad, 1927).
- (augmented Russian ed. of Lane-Poole's Mohammadan Dynasties)
 (St. Petersburg, 1899).

- manskogo mira (The Place of Caspian Provinces in the

 , Mesto Prikaspiishikh oblastei v istorii musul!
 manskogo mira (The Place of Caspian Provinces in the

 History of the Muslim World) (Baku, 1925).

 with corrections, GMS (London, 1958).
- Basmadjian, K., "Chronologie de l'Histoire de l'Arménie,"
 Revue de l'Orient Chrétien, XIX (1914), pp. 1-31 (offprint).
- Benzing, J., <u>Rinfthrung in das Studium der Altaischen Philologie</u> und der Turkologie (Wiesbaden, 1953).
- Berezin, I.N., Puteshesivie po Vostoku. Vol. II (Kazan', 1852).
- Berthels, E., Roman ob Alexandre i yego glavniye versii na Vostoka (Romance of Alexander and its Principal Version in the East) (Moscow, 1948) (n.a.).
- Bombaci, A., Storia della letteratura Turca, trans. I. Melikoff, <u>Histoire de la littérature turque</u> (Paris. 1968).
- Bosworth, C.E., The Ghaznavids (London, 1963).
- Genealogical Handbook (London, 1967).
- , Sistan under the Arabs, from the Islamic Conquest to the Rise of the Saffarids (30-250/651-864) (Rome, 1968).
- Boyle, John A., The Saling and Mongol Periods, The Cambridge Eistory of Iran, Vol. V (London, 1968).
- Buniiatov, Ziya M., "Nekotorye dopolneniia k genealogii Shirvanshakhov-Kesranidov (Some Additions to the Genealogy of the Shirvanshah-Kasranids)," Iz.ANAz. (Baku, 1965), no. 6, pp. 47-52.
- notice of sources on the History of Adharbayian) Istochniki arabskie (The Arab Sources) (Baku, 1964).
- Cahen, Claude, "L'évolution de l'igtac du IXe au XIIIe siècle,"

 Annales Economies-Sociétés-Civilisations, VIII (1953),
 pp. 25-52.
- Historians of the Middle Rast, ed. B. Lewis and P. Holt (Oxford, 1962), pp. 59-78.

- jukides," Oriens, II/1 (1949), pp. 31-65.
 - Byzantion, XVIII (1948), pp. 5-67.
- (London, 1968).
- 1940). <u>Ia Syrie du nord à l'époque des Croisades</u> (Paris,
- , "La Tugra seljukide," JA (1943-45), pp. 167-172.
- of the Crusades, ed. K. Setton, Vol. I (Philadelphia, 1955), pp. 135-176.
- Chalkin, K., "Musul'manskie dinastii, pravivsie v Zakavkaz'i v VII-XIII vv.--Il'degizida (A Muslim Dynasty Ruling in Caucasia in the XIIth-XIII Centuries---the Ildegizids),"

 Khakani-Nezami-Rustaveli, I (Leningrad, 1935), pp. 21-38.
- Cihangir, Z., Sirvansahlar yurdu, vaktile Albania, Arran ve Sirvan dive anilan "Kafkas Azerbaycani" nin tarihcesidir (The Settlement of the Shirvanshah, Being a Short History of Caucasian Adharbayian, Known in the Past as Shirvan, Arran and Albania) (Istanbul, 1931).
- Deguignes, J., Histoire générale des Huns, des Turcs, des Mongols et autres Tartares occidentaux--ouvrage tiré des livres chinois, 4 vols. (Paris, 1756-58); Turkish trans., H. Cahid, Hunlarin, türklerin, Mogullarin ve daha sâir tatarlarin tarih-i umdmisi, 4 vols. (Istanbul, 1924) (n.a.).
- Dorn, Bernard, "Versuch einer Geschichte des Schirwanschahe,"

 Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kaukasischen Länder und Volker

 aus Morgenländischen Quellen, Vol. I, Mémoires de l'Acad.

 Imp. des Sciences de St. Petersbourg, Series VI, IV (1840),

 pp. 523-602.
- Caspia, Mémoires de l'Académie, Séries VII, XXIII (1875).
- Dunlop, D.M., The History of the Jewish Khazars (Princeton, 1954).
- Dzhafarzade, I.M., "Arkheologicheskie raskopki v Bakinskoi bukhte (Archeological Excavation in the Bay of Baku),"

 12.AN.AZ; (1947), no. 7 (n.a.).

- Edhem, Halil, <u>Duvel-i islamiye</u>, Turkish ed. of Lane-Poole <u>Mohammadan Dynasties</u> (Istanbul, 1927).
- Encyclopaedia of Islam, first ed., 4 vols. (Leiden, 1913-36), second ed. (Leiden, 1954-).
- Frye, R.N., Bukhara. The Medieval Achievement (Norman, 1965).
- Frye, R.N. and A. Sayili, "Turks in the Middle East before the Seljuqs," JAOS, LXIII (1943); pp. 194-207.
- Grousset, R., <u>Histoire de l'Arménie des origines à 1071</u> (Paris, 1947).
- Guseinova (Huseinova), I. and A. Sumbat-zade (ed.), Istoriia Azerbaidzhana (History of Adharbayian), Vol. I (Baku, 1958).
- Halasi-Kun, Tibor, "The Caucasus, an Ethno-Historical Survey,"
 Studia Caucasica, I (The Hague, 1963), pp. 1-47.
- trans., T. Halasi-Kun ('S-Gravenhage, 1962), pp. 13-18.
- Hamdi, S., "Die Entstehung und Entwicklung des türkischen Einflusses im Abbasidenreiche...," unpublished thesis (Tübingen, 1954)(n.a.).
- Hasan, Hadī, Falakī-i-Shirwanī: His Times, Life, and Work, RAS (London, 1929).
- , "Muhammad Falaki-i-Shirwani and His Unique Diwan in Madras," Islamic Culture, April (1950), pp. 77-107, July (1950), pp. 145-186.
- Hodgson, Marshall, G.S., The Order of the Assassins (The Hague, 1955).
- Houtsma, M.Th., "Some Remarks on the History of the Saljuks,"
 Acta Orientalis Hungarica, III (1925), pp. 136-152.
- Islam (Istanbul, 19:0-).
- <u>İslam-türk ansiklopedisi</u>, Vol. I (Istanbul, 1940)(n.a.).
- Justi, F., Iranisches Namenbuch (Marbourg, 1895).
- Kafesoglu, I., "A propos du nom Türkmen," Oriens, XI (1958), pp. 146-150.

- ve tarihi ehemmiyeti (The First Seljuq Raid on Eastern Anatolia and Its Historical Importance), Fund Köprülü Armakani (Istanbul, 1953), pp. 259-274.
- (Ankara, 1956).
- Khanykov, N.I., "Lettre & M. Dorn," <u>Mélanges asiatiques</u>, III (1853), pp. 120-121 (n.a.).
- "Mémoire sur Khâcânî, poète persan du XIIème siècle, JA (1863), pp. 137-200 (1864).
- Köprülü, Fuad, Les origines de l'Empire Ottoman (Paris, 1935).
- Kafadaryan, K., <u>Dvin k'alak'a ew nra petumner</u> (The City of <u>Dvin</u> and Its Excavations), Vol. I (Erevan, 1952).
- Lambton, Anne K.S., "Reflections on the Igtac," Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of H.A.R. Gibb (Leiden, 1965), pp. 348-376.
- , Landlord and Peasant in Persia (Oxford, 1953).
- Lane-Poole, S., The Mohammadan Dynasties, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1925).
- Laurent, J., L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam depuis la conquête arabe jusqu'en 886 (Paris, 1919).
- , Byzance et les Turcs seldjoucides dans l'Asie occidentale jusqu'en 1081 (Nancy, 1913).
- Le Strange, Guy, The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate (London, 1905).
- Lewis, Bernard, The Assassins (London, 1967).
- Luther, Kenneth, A., "The Political Transformation of the Seljuq Sultanate of lraq and Western Iran: 1152-1187," unpublished Doctoral thesis, Princeton University (Princeton, 1964).
- Manandyan, Hakop, "Arabakan aršavank ner Hayastanum (žamanakagrakan dito Jut yunner)", Part 3 or Mant hetazotut yunner (Minor Researches) (Erevan, 1932); trans. Haig Berberian "Les invasions arabes en Arménie (Notes chronologiques), Byzantion, XVIII (1948), pp. 163-195.

- , K'nnakau tesut'yun hay żolovrdi pat ut'yan (Critical of the History of the Armenian People), Vol. III (Erevan, 1952).
- torgovlei drevnikh vremen, 2nd revised ed. (Erevan, 1954); trans. Nina G. Garsoian, The Trade and Cities of Armenia in Relation to Ancient World Trade (Lisbon, 1965).
- Manvelichvili, A., Histoire de la Géorgie (Paris, 1951).
- Markwart, J., Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge (Leipzig, 1903); Armenian trans. of section on the Bagratids (pp. 391-465) by M. Hapozean (Vienna, 1913).
- Miansarov' (Miansareanc), M., Bibliographia Caucasica et Transcaucasica, Vol. I/1,2 (St. Petersburg, 1874-76, reprint, 1967).
- Minorsky, Vladimir, "Caucasica II, 1. The Georgian maliks of Ahar. 2. The Princes Orbeli in Persia," BSOAS, XIII/4 (1951), pp. 868-877.
- , "La domination des Dallamites," <u>Publications</u> de Société des Etudes Iraniennes, no. 3 (1932), pp. 1-26, reprinted, <u>idem</u>, <u>Iranica</u> (London/Tehran, 1964), pp. 12-30.
- , "Khanaqi and Andronicus Comnenus," BSOAS, XI/3 (1945), pp. 550-578, reprinted, <u>Iranica</u>, pp. 120-150.
- Noideke, T., "Yakub the Coppersmith and his dynasty," Sketches from Eastern History, trans. J.S. Black (Edinburgh, 1892, reprint, 1963).
- Pakhomov, E.A., "Arabskie i prikaspiisko-iranskie feodaly v Azerbaidzhane X-XI vv. (Arab and Caspian-Iranian Feudal Lords in the X-XI Centuries)," Pamiati akademika N. IA. Marr (In Memoriam Academician N.Y. Marr) (Moscow/Leningrad, 1938)(n.a.).
- bukhte (Examination of the Ruined Portress in the Bay of Baku)," IZ.AZ.FAN (1940), no. 6 (n.a.).
- ""Starinnye oboronnye sooruzheniia Apsherona (The Ancient Defensive Structure of Apsheron)," Trudy In-ta istorii im. A. Bakikhanova ANAZ.S.S.R., I (Baku, 1947)
- (A More Accurate Dating of the Fortress in the Bay of Baku)," IZ.AZ.FAN (1941), no.1 (n.a.).

- Petrushevskii, I.P., "Beshkenidy-Pishtegenidy, gruzinskie melikhi Akhara v XII-nach. XIII vv. (Beshkenids-Pishtegenids, the Georgian Maliks of Ahar in the XIIth-Beginning of the XIIIth Centuries)," Materialy po istorii Gruzii i Kavkaza (Material for the History of Georgia and Caucasia) (1937), Fasc. 7, pp. 585-593.
- Sachau, E., <u>Kin Verzeichnis Muhammedanischen Dynastien</u> (Berlin, 1923).
- Salemann, K., Cheterostishiia Khakani (The Quatrains of Khaqani (St. Petersburg, 1875) (n.a.).
- Sanaullah, M., The Decline of the Saliuqid Empire (Calcutta, 1938).
- Spuler, B., <u>Die Mongolen in Iran</u>, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1955); Turkish trans., C. Köprülä, <u>Iran Mogollari</u> (Ankara, 1957).
- trans. F. Bagley (Leiden, 1960).
- Sumer, F., Okuzlar (Türkmenler) (Ankara, 1967).
- , "The Turks in Eastern Asia Minor in the Eleventh Century," <u>Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies. Oxford. 5-10 September, 1966</u> (London, 1967), pp. 141-143 (offprint).
- Sysoev, V.M., <u>Kratkii ocherk istorii Azerbaidzhana (severnogo)</u>
 (A Short Outline of the History of Adharbayian the Northern Part (Baku, 1925).
- Toumanoff, Cyril, "Armenia and Georgia," Cambridge Medieval <u>History</u>, Vol. IV, Part I, <u>Eyzantium and its Neighbours</u>, Chap. XIV, pp. 593-637, bibliography, pp. 983-1009.
- , "The Background to Mantzikert," XIII International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Oxford, 1966 (London, 1967).
- , "Christian Caucasia between Byzantium and Iran:
 New Light from Old Sources," Traditio, X (1954).
- Some Recent Publications," <u>Le Muséon</u>, LXII (1949), pp. 21-54.
- Part I, "The Formative Centuries (IVth-VIIth)," Traditio, XV(1959), pp. 1-106, Part II, "States and Dynasties of the Formative Period," Traditio XVII (1961), pp. 1-106.

- Georgetown University Press, 1963).
- Validi [Togan], A.Z., "Azerbaycanin tarihi cografyasi,"
 Azerbaycanin Yurt Bilgisi, Nos.1-4 (Istanbul, 1932)(n.a.).
- Bilgisi, No. 14 (1933), pp. 49-56 (n.a.).
- Vasiliev, A.A., Byzance et les Arabes, trans. and ed., H. Grégoire, M. Canard and others, I. La dynastie d'Amorium (820-867) (Brussels, 1935). II., Part 2, La dynastie macédonienne (867-959) (Brussels, 1950), Part 1 (announced 1966), III. E. Honigmann, Die Ostrense des byzantinischen Reiches von 363 bis 1081 (Brussels, 1935).
- Vasmer, R., Chronologie der arabischen Statthalter von Armenien unter den Abbasiden. Studien zur armenischen Geschichte, Vol. V (Vienna, 1931).
- Weil. G., Geschichte der Chalifen, 5 vols. (Mannheim/Stuttgart, 1842-1862)(n.a.).
- Wittek, Paul, The Rise of the Ottomen Empire, RAS (London, 1938).
- Yinanç, M., Türkiye tarihi Selcuklular devri (Istanbul, 1944).
- Zambaur, E. de, Manuel de Généalogie et de Chronologie pour l'Histoire de l'Islam (Hanover, 1927).

TABLES OF THE REIGNING YEARS OF NEIGHBORING RULERS

A. CAbbasid Caliphs

al-Qa'im	422/1031
al-Muqtad!	467/1075
al-Mustazhir	487/1094
al-Mustafshid	512/1118
al-Rashid	529/1135
al-MuqtafI	530/1136
al-Mustanjid	555/1160
al-Mustadi	566/1170
al-Nasir*	575/1180
al-Zahir	622/1225
al-Mustansir	623/1226
al-Musta ^C Sim	640/1242 to 656/1258
	- · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·

B. Great Seljugs

Tughril Beg	429/1037
Alp Arslan	455/1063
Malikshah	465/1072
Mahmud	485/1092
Barkiyaruq	487/1094
Malikshah II	498/1104
Muhammad	498/1104
Safijar	511/1117 to 554/1159

C. Seljugs of Iraq

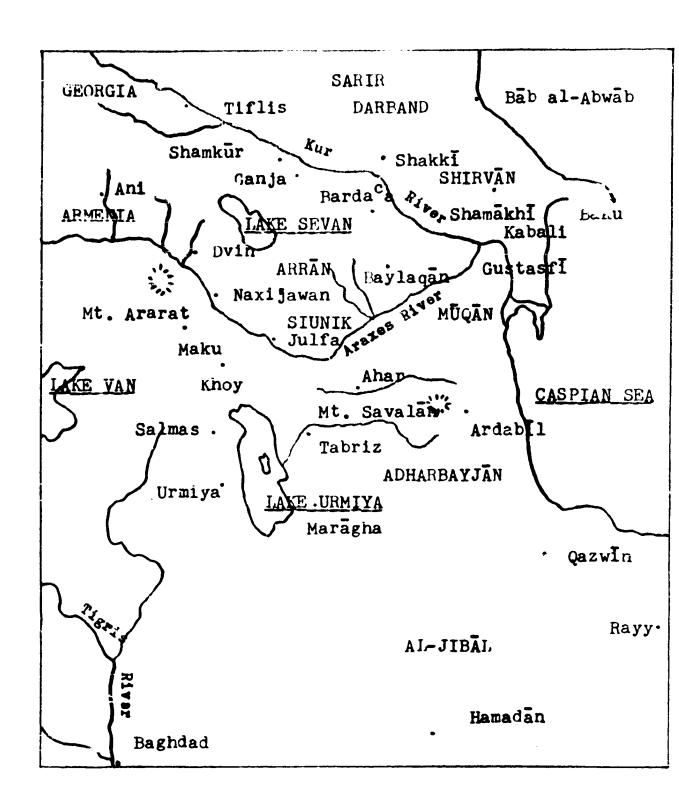
Mahmud	511/1117
Dawud	525/1131
Tughril	526/1132
Mascud	527/1133
Malikshah	547/1152
Muhammad	548/1153
Muhammad	548/1153
Sulaymanshah	555/1160
Arslanshah	555/1160
Tughril II	571/1176 to 590/1194

D. Khwarazmshahs

Takash	568/1172
Muhammad _	596/1199
Jalal al-Din	617/1220 to 628/1231

E. Kings of Georgia

Bagrat IV	418/1027
Giorgi II	464/1072
David	482/1089
Dimitri I	519/1125
Giorgi III	551/1156
T'amar	580/1184
Giorgi Iasha	610/1213
Rusudan	620/1223 to 642/1245



THE PLATES

The following photographs illustrating coins described in the corpora are all from specimens in the American Numismatic Society.

PLATE I

462

SHIRVĀNSHĀHS





13 Minuchihr II













14

20B

24A

FarIburz I

Akhsatan I











31X

Garshasp I









43X

FarIburz III









45D

Akhsatan III

46

PLATE II

MALIKS OF DARBAND













IA

3A

Muzaffar









lox

Muzaffar

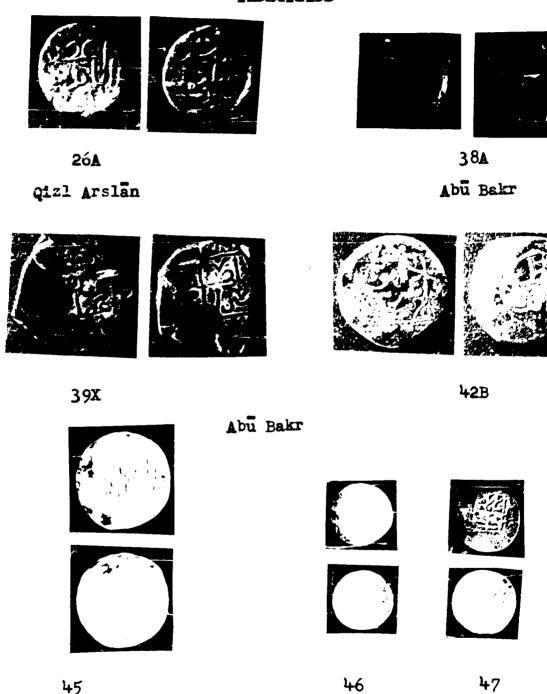




17C

Bekbars

PLATE III ILDEGIZIDS



Abu Bekr

45

PLATE IV BISHKINID MALIKS OF AHAR









6X

Bishkin

9









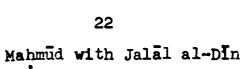


PLATE V
UNIDENTIFIED ILDEGIZID VASSAL





14







